

RELATIVE CHRONOLOGY AND THE LANGUAGE OF EPIC

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## RELATIVE CHRONOLOGY AND THE LANGUAGE OF EPIC

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The songs of the early Greek epos do not survive with reliable dates attached. The texts provide few references to events outside the songs themselves with which to establish a chronology, and thus much study has centered on the language of the songs. This study takes as its starting point the well-known and influential work of Richard Janko on this topic, especially as presented in his *Homer, Hesiod, and the hymns: Diachronic development in epic diction*, which seeks to establish relative dates for the songs of the epos through statistical analysis of certain linguistic features found therein. Though Janko's methodology is flawed, it does highlight the principal aspects of the question of the epic language and chronology. This thesis first establishes the problematic relationship between the oral tradition and our textual representatives of that tradition, as well as the consequences of that relationship for the question of chronology. The existence of an Aeolic phase of epic diction is next refuted, with important results for chronology. Finally, the evidence of the Homeric digamma reveals the "paradox of archaism." The epic language can be shown to work in such a way that many apparent archaisms depend crucially on innovative forms for their creation. This phenomenon is recognized for the first time as a special kind of innovatory language, one which undermines the possibility for simple, linear development of the epic language on which Janko and others have relied. While this finding does not yield dates of the songs of the early Greek epos, it nevertheless provides a more accurate picture of the nature of the epic language.

## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

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For my wife.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Biographical Sketch	iii
Dedication	iv
Acknowledgments	v
Table of Contents	vi
List of Figures	viii
List of Tables	ix

### Part I: RELATIVE CHRONOLOGY WITHIN (AN) ORAL TRADITION

Chapter I	
Section 1: The Greek epos	1
Section 2: The Problem of (Relative) Chronology within the epos	9
Chapter II	
Section 1: Background for Janko's method	18
Section 2: The Common Scale	23
Section 3: The extension of the Common Scale	26
Section 4: The definition of archaism	30
Chapter III	
Section 1: Chronology versus geography	42
Chapter IV	
Section 1: A case study of the o- and a-stem accusative plurals	48
Chapter V: Conclusions	59

### Part II: AN AEOLIC PHASE OF EPIC DICTION?

Chapter VI	
Section 1: The mixed dialect of epic	61
Section 2: Alternative explanations for the mixed dialect	63
Section 3: Evidence for a gap in a continuous Ionic tradition	69
Section 4: Janko's treatment of the ā-stem genitives	71
Section 5: Evidence for the full development of QM in epic language	79
Section 6: Further evidence against an Aeolic Phase	80
Section 7: An alternative explanation for the distribution of QM	84
Section 8: Formulaic concerns regarding QM	86
Section 9: Archaism of metrical shape versus phonology	91
Section 10: Typological parallels- the –εσσι dative	93
Section 11: Typological parallels- the –οιο genitive	94

Section 12: Conclusions	103
Part III: THE PARADOX OF ARCHAISM	
Chapter VII	
Section 1: The paradox of archaism	105
Section 2: The distribution of observance and neglect of digamma	109
Section 3: Spondees created by position with digamma	114
Section 4: Correlation of the inner metric of the hexameter and preservation of digamma	120
Section 5: The illusion of archaism at line segment junctures	123
Section 6: ἰδέ and the Paradox of Archaism	133
Appendix	
I. The counting of digamma	140
II. Hesiod's digamma	146
Bibliography	154



## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Individual songs ordered on the Common Scale	24
Figure 2: Individual Songs Clustered by Features	25
Figure 3: The phase/"stacked" model versus the "diffusion" model	65
Figure 4: Percent neglect of digamma sorted by line position	111
Figure 5: Manner of observation of digamma in Homer	113

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Distribution of Categories of "Formulaic" Language	33
Table 2: Corrected Classification of "Formulaic" Language	36
Table 3: Secure heavy o- and a-stem accusative plurals	52
Table 4: Common Scale results with ambiguous examples excluded	75
Table 5: Distribution of masculine ā-stem genitive singulars	75
Table 6: Distribution of ā-stem genitive plurals	76
Table 7: Distribution of masculine ā-stem genitive singulars (corrected)	76
Table 8: Distribution of ā-stem genitive plurals in Hesiod	78
Table 9: Distribution of non-oio o-stem genitive singulars	100
Table 10: Distribution of non-oio o-stem genitives excluding ambiguous examples	101
Table 11: Percent neglect of digamma sorted by line position	110
Table 12: Manner of observance of digamma in Homer	113
Table 13: Percent neglect of digamma in Hesiod	151

## PART I: RELATIVE CHRONOLOGY WITHIN (AN) ORAL TRADITION

### Chapter 1

#### Section 1: The Greek epos

The songs of the early Greek hexameter tradition do not survive to us with reliable dates attached. We know they are old because our sources in antiquity tell us they are old.<sup>1</sup> More importantly, the language the tradition preserves is very old, centuries older than any extant example of the epic corpus. There is strong reason to believe that a poetic tradition in hexameters stretches back into the Bronze Age. The use of tmesis,<sup>2</sup> or the separation of preverbs from their verbs, an inherited feature of Proto-Indo-European common in the Vedic hymns, persists in the epic tradition, but was likely already obsolete in Mycenaean.<sup>3</sup> The status of syllabic /r/ also points to a very

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<sup>1</sup> e.g. Herodotus *Histories* II. 53.2: *Ἡσίοδον γὰρ καὶ Ὅμηρον ἡλικίην τετρακοσίοισι ἔτεσι δοκέω μὲν πρεσβυτέρους γενέσθαι καὶ οὐ πλέοσι*. Such biographical detail, including Homer's birthplace in Smyrna, life in Chios, death on Ios, parentage by the river Meles and the nymph Kretheis (giving him the original name Melesigenes), is unreliable and fantastic; the question of the date(s) for Homer and Hesiod occupied the historian Hellanicus, according to Harpocration, in the fifth century. (cf. Kirk (1985) p.2; (1962) pp. 285ff.) Ruijgh (1995) finds the evidence from Herodotus, among other evidence, somewhat compelling in arguing for a 9<sup>th</sup> c. date for Homer.

<sup>2</sup> Horrocks PCPS 26 (1980) 1-11 *Space and Time in Homer*.

<sup>3</sup> Dag Haug (Symposium of Relative Chronology in early Greek Poetry, Oslo, Norway, June 2006; acts forthcoming) has recently argued that while the practice of tmesis was likely moribund in Mycenaean, the evidence is not overwhelming. Tmesis only occurs with transitive compound verbs, of which there are only five extant examples in Linear B (none of which shows separation of the preverb); other compound verbs are intransitive and do not show tmesis in Linear B. Certainly, the pedestrian nature of the Linear B inventory inscriptions are not immediately comparable to the poetry of the Vedas or Homer, and so we cannot be assured that tmesis was not a living component of Mycenaean speech, at least in some registers. The practice in Homer already reflects a poetic practice which has expanded beyond the historical practice to become a tool of metrical utility. Examples of apparent

early stage of the tradition, though not necessarily an “Achaean” phase, contra Ruijgh, et al.<sup>4</sup> Other lexical items seem to correspond to finds from Mycenaean sites: “Several dactylic formulae prove archaeologically the Mycenaean contribution to the tradition; φάσγανον/ξίφος ἀργυρόηλον, ἀσπίδος ἀμφιβρότης, and σάκος ἥντε πύργον all reflect early Mycenaean weaponry...”<sup>5</sup> Formulae in accord with archaeological finds “show that phrases containing two successive dactyls are as old as the objects themselves.”<sup>6</sup> A certain amount of restraint is necessary in claiming certain continuity from Mycenae simply on the basis of archaic language. Nonetheless, the likelihood of heroic poetry in the Bronze Age sung in hexameters, or what was to become hexameters, is high.<sup>7</sup>

The songs of Homer, Hesiod and the hymns, though, are obviously not pristine products of the Bronze Age. The tradition developed into the Archaic

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tnesis, therefore, result in part from the early origins of epic singing, but the practice has overflowed its banks to produce radical examples of tmesis in Hellenistic times which have no origin in colloquial practice. The direction of this development, therefore, disqualifies it as a criterion for asserting diachronic development. cf. Horrocks (1980).

<sup>4</sup> The famous ἀνδροτῆτα scans with two initial shorts, possibly recovering \*/anr̥tāta/. “The argument over whether forms specific to the Mycenaean dialect persist in Homer (the ‘Achaean’ stratum) continues: in favour see Householder and Nagy *Greek* 62-6, and Ruijgh *Linear B* 148ff.; contrast Peters in *Festschrift Risch* 303-19.” Janko (1992) p. 10 n.10.

<sup>5</sup> Janko (1992) pp. 10-11.

<sup>6</sup> Janko (1992) pp. 10-11.

<sup>7</sup> Berg and Haug (2000) offer a starkly different assessment. The authors argue that the hexameter must be a recent development, closely bound up with the transition from an Aeolic to a Ionic phase in the development of the epic diction. The Ionic phase must have been very short, and the rise of the *Iliad* is probably also to be situated at the very moment of change in meter and dialect. This is predicated on insufficient evidence involving the paradigm of ἀνήρ in epic, formulaic anomalies regarding “shedding tears” (e.g. κατὰ δάκρυ χέοντες versus δάκρυον εἶβων, cf. Haslam (1976)), and quantitative metathesis in the paradigm of “ship.” The assumption that the *Iliad* was the first poem to employ the hexameter, adapting an Aeolic tradition into both another dialect *and* another meter, strains credulity; it also discounts the veritable sea of epic poetry which was contemporary with and preceded the textualized epics. Naturally, this transformation does not preclude Bronze Age roots for the Greek epos, but seems to require an exceptionally early Homer.

period, incorporating linguistic innovations along the way in one or more living oral tradition. The relationship of our texts to the traditions of singing which produced them is at the heart of the question of dating. How do you date an oral poem? In the most radical oralist formulation, a song is only as old as the last time it was sung, being continually reinvented in performance. The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and the works of Hesiod and the hymnists had achieved textual status in antiquity, though how fluid that text was is, for some at least, still a matter of debate. The development of the Oral Theory has the mystique of one of the great “eureka” moments of the twentieth century in classical studies, alongside the decipherment of Linear B, and stands as one of the most powerful and pervasive tools for understanding Homer and other early Greek poetry. From our perspective it appears a great leap of a great mind for a young Milman Parry to extrapolate the significance of the use of the frequent and repetitive epithets in Homer as a hallmark of traditional, and thus oral, poetry, and then to have the insight to test his theory with fieldwork among South Slavic epic singers in a still living oral tradition. The insight should not be diminished, but Parry did not conceive the idea wholly independently. Others deeply influenced the insights of Parry and his pupil and collaborator Albert Lord.

Parry and Lord were certainly not the first to suggest or even actively explore possible analogy between Homer and South Slavic oral epic. Just as their so-called Oral Theory was anticipated as early as the first century Jewish apologist Flavius Josephus [Contra Apionem 1.11-12], so numerous other scholars from the nineteenth century onward had already noticed

similarities of various kinds between the ancient Greek *aoidos* and contemporary South Slavic *guslar*.<sup>8</sup>

Already in 1909, Arnold van Gennep had compared the *guslar*'s use of formulaic phrases to the shuffling of playing cards in his *La Question d'Homère*, and others, including Gerhard Gesemann with his "composition-schema," had in various forms acknowledged the use of what we now think of as the "theme" or "type scene." Often cited by Parry himself is Matija Murko, who beyond explicitly linking the text of Homer to the practice of the *guslar* took the step that Parry himself would take and studied first hand a living oral epic tradition through fieldwork.

The great advance of Parry and Lord has been to organize their theoretical stance on the text of Homer and their discoveries in the field with South Slavic epic singers into a unified Oral Theory which provided analogical evidence for the Homeric tradition as the product of oral composition.

The thesis was both simple and radical: the traditional structures that Parry had so thoroughly analyzed in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* must necessarily be linked to oral composition in performance...[B]ecause Homeric diction, known only in texts, was mirrored in the unambiguously oral performances of the *guslari*, Homer must also have been an oral bard.<sup>9</sup>

Parry and Lord found an apt parallel to the Homeric tradition in a particular sub-genre of the much larger realm of oral traditions worldwide, and they proposed methods for testing other works for signs of orality which have proved useful in classical, medieval, and folkloric studies; but since many of their claims arose from a comparison of these two traditions alone,

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<sup>8</sup> Foley (1990) p.39.

<sup>9</sup> Foley (1999) p.40

some statements have had to be modified as studies of different oral traditions have developed. Ruth Finnegan's wide-ranging book, *Oral Poetry*, takes special issue with the notion of a quantified level of formulaic content as a benchmark of orality.

As recently as 1968 Lord was claiming that 'A pattern of 50 to 60 per cent formula or formulaic, with 10 to perhaps 25 percent straight formula, indicates clearly literary or written composition. I am still convinced that it is possible to determine orality by quantitative formulaic analysis, by the study of formula density.' (1968, p24) This idea has come under fire in recent studies. As Benson has demonstrated, a heavily formulaic style is characteristic not just of the Old English 'oral' epic of *Beowulf* but also of some *written* compositions in Old English, including Old English translations from Latin originals (Benson, 1966). If the style proves *Beowulf* to be 'oral', how can one explain its use in written composition? Benson concludes 'To prove that an Old English poem is formulaic is only to prove that it is an Old English poem, and to show that such work has a high or low percentage of formulas reveals nothing about whether or not it is a literate composition, though it may tell us something about the skill with which a particular poet uses the tradition' (Benson, 1966, p. 336)."<sup>10</sup>

Indeed, one need only look to the work of Quintus of Smyrna for an example. No one doubts that the *Posthomerica* is the product of literary composition, but a thoroughly literary poet too can certainly compose in an oral style, as Hoekstra points out. Quintus of Smyrna "probably imitated Homer more closely than Homer followed his predecessors. [He] even works out in a formulaic manner certain expressions which are sporadically found in Homer [and] makes new (if analogical) formulae, e.g.  $\epsilon\upsilon\mu\mu\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\eta\varsigma$   $\text{\AA}\gamma\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omega\nu$  (7x),  $\epsilon\upsilon\mu\mu\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\eta\nu$  (-η)  $\text{\AA}\chi\iota\lambda\eta\alpha$  (-ι) (3x), in which  $\epsilon\upsilon\mu\mu\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\eta\varsigma$  is treated in the same

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<sup>10</sup> Finnegan (1977) pp. 69-70.

way as the ‘generic epithets’ examined by Parry.”<sup>11</sup> Hoekstra goes further to say that if “the *Posthomerica* were the oldest surviving piece of poetry, the argument put forth [by Parry] would necessarily lead to the conclusion that this poem was an oral composition.”<sup>12</sup> Since we also possess the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, we can detect the self-conscious reference to the work of Homer which gives the late antique poem the sheen of antiquity, but Quintus is hardly mechanical in his deployment of traditional material. “[F]or all the general similarity of Q[uintus]’s systems to their H[omeric] counterparts, the proportion of combinations taken with little or no modification from H. is consistently small, never more than a quarter. This confirms the impression that although Q. is the most thoroughgoing Homeriser of all surviving poets, he is far from slavishly imitative. Indeed, his inventiveness is unfailingly impressive.”<sup>13</sup> The quantification of formulaic density rests largely on the definition of formulae, so any benchmark which claims to “prove” or “refute” the certain orality of a particular work should be approached with the appropriate caveats.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Hoekstra (1969) p. 17.

<sup>12</sup> Hoekstra (1969) p. 17.

<sup>13</sup> James and Lee (2000) p.29.

<sup>14</sup> The approach of Sale (1996) is instructive in this regard. Sale reaches too far in the quantification of epic, particularly in her assertions about the percent formulaicity of different poems. For this she must rely on a detailed description of what will count as formulae for this purpose, and naturally this definition does not exactly match the definition of any other scholar. She eschews structural formulae, or “templates”, checking only more narrowly defined phenomena. The assertions that Homer is 70% formulaic, therefore, requires a great deal of unpacking. The unfortunate tendency is of course that the notion “70% formulaic” and conversely 30% non-formulaic, are easily seized upon by anyone for whom such numbers may be advantageous for an argument which might not mesh perfectly with something so fundamental as the definition of “formula.”

Parry’s own definition of formula underpinned the claims about formulaic composition which helped convince scholars that Homer represented the product of an oral tradition. Expansion of the definition can effect a situation where “formulae” are so broadly defined that works that are assuredly literary fit the definition, and thus “formulaic” need not



As Janko points out, Finnegan's work encompasses a much broader range of oral poetry than is represented in our epos;<sup>15</sup> indeed she includes as oral texts any text which is orally disseminated. By admitting this larger corpus of securely oral material she is able to demonstrate that oral poetry does not follow such strict rules as suggested by Parry and Lord; that is, not all extant oral poetry employs the "oral formulaic style."<sup>16</sup> Janko addresses this problem in citing the distinction between short orally composed poems with fixed form from their creation and poems which show the sort of variation within limits which are the hallmark of composition-in-performance:<sup>17</sup>

[Finnegan's] book, based as it is on a comparative study of the practice of composition and performance of both oral and orally performed poetry, both long and short, rejected within the category of works orally performed the existence of a highly significant sub-category of longer works *composed during performance*. [emphasis Janko's] Parry and Lord have shown that oral poets use the language and structures of their respective traditions to facilitate composition-in-performance; they will use them more in creating very long poems, less in creating short ones ('lyrics'). To deny that this category of long compositions can be distinguished from other types, where short compositions can be remembered more exactly,

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be connected with "oral." On the other hand, one can limit the definition to a point where even Homer cannot be said to display significant oral tendencies, and thus was likely a literate poet. Of course, the study of living oral traditions makes such clear cut distinctions and solid definitions difficult to maintain. A poet of sufficient genius to produce the Homeric epics was easily skilled enough to rework his material in composition; if we look at Advo Međedović, we see that a skilled singer is at once beholden to the tradition, but also immersed in his own idiosyncratic methods and able to adapt his song to the moment. That can include coming up with wholly new lines, (re-) deploying personal formulae, composing essentially without formulae (though on this, the idea of structural formulae is important as even "new" linguistic material is often deployed based on existing models). The skilled oral poet is able to sing his tales in a fluid and flexible style that allows for innovation.

<sup>15</sup> For convenience, the collective title of *epos* will provide a shorthand for early Greek hexameter poetry.

<sup>16</sup> Finnegan (1977) pp. 18-22.

<sup>17</sup> Janko (1998) p. 5.

is to confuse genres which traditional societies in the modern Balkans and in ancient Greece well knew how to keep apart.

Finnegan's work is of course concerned with the broader scope of oral poetry, and she does show that not all oral poetry employs a formulaic style, though she certainly does not deny that Homer and the South Slavic *guslari* employ such a style. Conversely, some purely oral traditions are completely beholden to exact reproduction, the most famous being the Vedic hymns. Against what she sees as an initial overgeneralization extrapolated from the analogy of epos and the Balkan traditions, Finnegan offers that "the reality is more interesting than any monolithic theory. There turn out to be different combinations of the processes of composition, memorization and performance, with differing relationships between them according to cultural traditions, genres and individual poets. There are several ways—and not just *one* determined way suitable for 'the oral mind' — in which human beings can engage in the complex processes of poetic composition."<sup>18</sup>

Regardless of its relationship to the full mass of oral poetry, Greek epos reflects a narrower sub-set of poetry. Homer, Hesiod, and the hymns show a great number of similarities. Though disparate in various ways, particularly content, all of the works share the same meter, the same basic dialect, and a significant amount of identical phraseology. Also, the poems tend to employ a system of economy and extension, as well as certain metrical irregularities resulting from the juxtaposition of formulae within metrical slots employed in the hexameters of all the epos. Further, the poets of the epos also engage in modifications of formulae of the type described by Hoekstra and Hainsworth

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<sup>18</sup> Finnegan (1977) p. 86.

among others. The use of “epic-Ionic” in particular, with its mix of dialect forms and forms only found in the *Kunstsprache*, seems to unite the songs of the epos within a larger tradition, the apparent product of a long tradition of hexameter singing in ancient Greece.

## Section 2: The Problem of (Relative) Chronology within the epos

We would like to know when and how our avatars of the hexameter tradition came to possess the shape in which we find them. We have some evidence for the multiformity of the tradition. For example, though we have no direct evidence for a version of the *Odyssey* in which Penelope betrays Odysseus, the poet assiduously presents the fate of Agamemnon as a cautionary foil for the hero- the tale could go either way.<sup>19</sup> Indeed, even our limited access to the wider tradition illustrates that Homer tweaked his sources: the *Catalog of Women* lists the offspring of Odysseus and Kalypso; the *Telegony* overlaps, and thus competes with, the *Odyssey*, opening as the suitors are being buried in the vexed 24<sup>th</sup> book of the Homeric epic.<sup>20</sup> The vicissitudes of oral practice, and the rich insights of neo-analysis, may undermine our confidence in a definitively fixed text, or the currency of such a concept in the Archaic period. We encounter the epics as more or less fixed texts, but the textualization and transmission of the songs of the epic corpus

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<sup>19</sup> Foley (1999) pp. 115ff. esp. 135-142, explores the Odysseus tale against the structural foil of the traditional return song, exemplified in the *Odyssey* by the successful return and reconciliation of Odysseus and the unsuccessful return of Agamemnon. For the concept of multiform, see especially Nagy (2004) pp. 25ff. with references, Lord (1995) p.23f., and Foley (1990, 1999) who notes that South Slavic singings of the Return Song involved an unfaithful “Clytemnestra” as often as a “Penelope.” The songs were structured in such a way that the singer can expand or contract his song at will- the unfaithful wife triggers a second journey to raise an army and punish the offending house, while a happy reunion may yield more adventure as the hero may even return to prison to complete his penance.

<sup>20</sup> cf. Burgess (2001) p. 143; Monro (1876) pp. 382-3.

bears directly on any attempt to derive a relative chronology from the linguistic evidence contained therein. We know that the text of Homer was both fluid and fixed within certain parameters.

The fluidity of the text of Homer, especially, is seen in the proliferation of variants found in papyri and testimonia from the fifth century onward, and in the medieval manuscript tradition. For Homer in particular, the concept of an original text which managed to survive to us as the so-called “vulgate,” escaping major alteration by the Alexandrians, has informed the editorial choices of numerous editions. Of this tendency, Haslam notes:

Our earliest Homeric manuscripts, those of the 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. B.C., are characterized by their startling degree of difference from the text that prevailed later, sometimes known as the ‘vulgate.’ We must beware of anachronism here, for we cannot simply assume that the vulgate was already in existence. Furthermore, the very term ‘vulgate’ is a misnomer. It designates no particular version of the text; there is no vulgate of Homer as there is a vulgate of the Bible. It is convenient to be able to refer to any given reading of all or most of the medieval manuscripts as the vulgate reading, but that is no more than a form of shorthand. ... [I]t would be wrong to view any given manuscript as a more or less deformed version of it [the vulgate].<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Haslam (1997) p 63. Haslam goes on to note of the treatment of the second century B.C. fragment, p 30, containing parts of books 4-5 of the *Odyssey* that “[s]uch are the paradoxes of the Homeric transmission that the readings of this our oldest manuscript are not even recorded in either von der Mühl’s or van Thiel’s critical editions of the poem. The oldest manuscripts are not necessarily the best manuscripts, but in no other author would they be treated as negligible.” p.66. The battle is hardly new. Villoison (1788) believed that armed with Venetus A we can reconstruct the text of Aristarchus, which was, in effect, the most accurate text of all, since A. collated numerous texts and chose those variants which fit with his perceived program of Homeric composition. Wolf (1795), on the other hand, in his *Prolegomena* had no confidence in the scholia as a tool to discover the real Homer. Rather he put his faith into the Vulgate as it existed in the medieval MSS tradition. The variants recorded for Aristarchus, Aristophanes, and Zenodotus were treated as mere conjectures without textual evidence. This view has been lately the more embraced, by Janko, van Thiel, largely by West (who is especially hard on Zenodotus).

Indeed, any attempt at establishing an “original” text on the basis of the readings available “is perpetually bedeviled by the metaphysics of the Homeric question. It may be no more than wishful thinking to suppose that in any particular case we can arrive at the word or phrase chosen by the monumental composer: perhaps terms like ‘original’ and ‘authentic’ are only relative.”<sup>22</sup> Beyond just direct papyrus and manuscript readings are the reports of so-called city texts and the *koine* texts, whose readings are usually late and secondary, but which, though spread all over the Greek world, sometimes agree in opposition to the vulgate reading; the agreement of papyri and manuscript readings is unsystematic, as collation spread variant readings unevenly, leaving us without separate lines of transmission.<sup>23</sup>

The possibility that the songs of the epos were not textualized once, but numerous times in numerous locations over the course of centuries further complicates the dating of the texts. Variant readings could reflect the

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<sup>22</sup> West, S. (1967), p. 5. The main differences in the Ptolemaic papyri are plus verses, omission of lines found in the mss, differences in orthography. There are, NB, no strong indications in the papyrus records that the tradition admitted of whole scenes or variations of plot beyond the structure of the two epics as we have them (though S. West must admit that should we find such texts without sufficient context, we would be hard pressed to identify them as part of the Homeric tradition, *per se*). The epics, then, seem generally well defined, but the existence of wide variation, or even simply concordance interpolations, puts a certain stress on Janko’s method, as we will see below. He counts all instances of a given morph as unique, whether contained in a repeated line segment or even a repeated whole line. As such, the “original” text, whatever we surmise that to be, may well have been more or less “flabby” than the one which seems to have become canonical after Aristarchus. Diminution of variants continues in more recent editorial activity, like the OCT; Janko himself criticizes the text of the OCT for its penchant for neutralizing variants “because the editorial pressure for conformity between one passage and another was clearly very great.” He detects this disposition in the OCTs “to an extreme degree.” (1990) pp.326-334.

<sup>23</sup> cf. Haslam (1997) pp. 70, 95ff. We speak here of the transmission of a more or less fixed text, but the analogy of an “open-recension” obtains for the pre-textualized epics as well. Bards shared and incorporated material from other singers sporadically, as did rhapsodes as part of oral performance. It remains unclear what degree of variation could actually have existed in a performance still recognizable to its audience as “Homer.”

textualizations of ongoing oral rhapsodic performance in a living tradition. This is in essence the view of Nagy, expressed in numerous publications.<sup>24</sup> The earliest textualization thus has no more *de facto* authority than subsequent ones, as indeed each text provides merely a snapshot of a tradition which had been developing orally before “Homer” and continued to develop after a text was first established.<sup>25</sup> That said, it is the view of Nagy, and very many before him, that regardless of the earlier history of the epics, their shape depends heavily on 6<sup>th</sup> century Athens and the Pisistratean recension. This view has deep roots,<sup>26</sup> and it “was expressed by Bentley in 1713: “Homer...wrote a

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<sup>24</sup> Nagy (2004, 2003, 1996). Nagy proposes five successive stages of development of the tradition, from totally fluid to “scripture” (quoted from Nagy (2004) p. 27):

1. a relatively most fluid period, with no written texts, extending from the early second millennium into the middle of the eighth century.
2. a more formative or “Panhellenic” period, still with no written texts, from the middle of the eighth century to the middle of the sixth BCE.
3. a definitive period, centralized in Athens, with potential texts in the sense of *transcripts*, at any or several points from the middle of the sixth century to the later part of the fourth BCE; this period starts with the reform of Homeric performance traditions in Athens during the régime of the Peisistratidai.
4. a standardizing period, with texts in the sense of transcripts or even *scripts*, from the later part of the fourth century to the middle of the second BCE; this period starts with the reform of Homeric performance traditions in Athens during the régime of Demetrius of Phalerum, which lasted from 317 to 307 BCE
5. a relatively most rigid period, with texts as *scripture*, from the middle of the second century onward; this period starts with the completion of Aristarchus’ editorial work on the Homeric texts, not long after 150 BCE or so, which is a date that also marks the general disappearance of the so-called “eccentric” papyri.

<sup>25</sup> A rhapsode engaged in singing the *Iliad* “became Homer;” Nagy’s expansive view of multiplicity in the epics has been criticized by Pelliccia (1997), among others, as allowing “as many Homers as you please.”

<sup>26</sup> Cicero *de Oratore* 3.137: “Quis doctior eisdem temporibus illis aut cuius eloquentia litteris instructor fuisse traditur quam Pisistrati? Qui primus Homeri libros confusos antea sic disposuisse dicitur, ut nunc habemus. Non fuit ille quidem civibus suis utilis, sed ita eloquentia floruit, ut litteris doctrinaque praestaret.” “Who is said to have been more learned at that very time? Or whose eloquence in literature is said to have been more refined than Pisistratus’s? He is said to have laid down the books of Homer, which beforehand had been jumbled, the way we have them now. Not only was that man useful to his subjects, but he so abounded in eloquence that he excelled in literature and philosophy.”

sequel of songs and rhapsodies, to be sung by himself for small earnings and good cheer, at festivals and other days of merriment.... These loose songs were not collected together in the form of an epic poem, till Pisistratus's time, above 500 years after"; and it seems to have remained an unchallenged article of faith until 1846, when Grote first cast serious doubts upon its historical accuracy."<sup>27</sup> The question of such a recension, or even just heavy Athenian influence on the received text of Homer, making a possibly otherwise ancient text of Homer essentially a product of the sixth century whose relationship with older versions is obscure.<sup>28</sup>

Kirk proposed an alternative which would essentially split the difference, supposing that the Homeric epics arose from a fluid oral tradition as the work of a monumental composer, though not with the aid of writing. This text was preserved orally, and on this point Kirk argues that such a transmission could have been more stable than critics suppose, noting that these "is no clear parallel in other oral cultures to the *rhapsodic* phase in the

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<sup>27</sup> Davison (1955) p.1. Davison goes on to point out that despite strong disagreement from Wilamowitz and others, the theory has always had its defenders, including Leaf, Cauer, Bolling, von der Mühl, Merkelbach, and Page. Further ancient testimonia of the role of Homer in Athens and the Panathenaia are found in Plato, Isocrates, Lycurgus, Plutarch, and Diogenes Laertius (usefully collected on Davison p. 7), but Plutarch assigns Pericles, not the Pistratids, the role of having first decreed (or decreed first) a μουσικῆς ἀγῶνα τοῖς Παναθηναίοις which encompassed ἀυλεῖν ἢ ᾄδειν ἢ κιθαρίζειν. (*Pericles* 13.6) These singing competitions do not preclude an earlier textualization, though they do provide a vehicle for ongoing textualization providing (semi-)organic variants to a more or less fixed text per the later stages of Nagy's schema. cf. Kirk (1962) pp.305f., who likewise rejects a Pistratid recension conglomerating previously disparate rhapsodic material into the forms of our epics on the basis of the relative paucity of Attic influence.(p. 317-8)

<sup>28</sup> For the purposes of relative chronology among all the poems of Greek epos, the reality of distinct circumstances of initial textualization and transmission provide a real stumbling block. The activities of rhapsodes, the Pisistratids, and Alexandrian editors are most often considered in the context of Homer, and I too have focused on these factors as they are the best studied even since antiquity; but the context of the textualization and transmission for the various other songs of Hesiod and the hymnists offer equally obscure origins. As usual, the prudent approach must be skepticism.

Greek epic tradition” which may have at some point involved the aid of writing and may have achieved “altogether higher standards of verbal accuracy than anything to be seen in a true oral tradition.”<sup>29</sup> but gradually took on a fixed form without the aid of writing. Such a view would allow for a late text of an essentially early poem; while the Vedic hymns, as is well known, achieved a rigid form centuries before textualization, the social institutions devoted to the hymns’ preservation and the cultural importance of verbatim reproduction of the Vedas make them an inapt comparandum for the narrative poetry of Greece.<sup>30</sup> This view has not enjoyed wide acceptance, being either rejected outright<sup>31</sup> or rather having transmuted into the vision of Nagy of a somewhat more fluid transmission gradually crystallizing.

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<sup>29</sup> Kirk (1962) p. 101. Pelliccia (2003) extrapolating from *Phaedrus* 228d6-e2, points out that Socrates addresses Phaedrus as he holds a copy of Lysias’ speech under his cloak though he has tried to memorize it both by listening to Lysias perform it, and now by studying a *written text*. As for the rhapsodes, certainly the evidence is against a notion that they compose in performance in the way that reflects a “living” oral-tradition. They are portrayed as “stupid” (as in the *Ion*) and despite a command of the *text* of Homer, Socrates says/shows that they do not understand it.

Furthermore, the culture of non-professional choral performances involving hundreds or thousands of people at Athens for the various festivals does speak in favor of a culture of memorization, and one where verbatim repetition was necessary, not composition in performance (as choral lyric does not favor spontaneous variation). Certainly memorization was extremely prevalent in semi-literate Athens, and 5<sup>th</sup> century Athenians thought Homer was the author of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Nagy’s culture hero idea is called into question, but can on the whole still stand, conceding that the tradition is well-established by the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> c.

<sup>30</sup> The Vedas differ markedly from the Greek (and Indian) long narrative epics in being a collection of relatively short discrete songs, the work of different families of singers. The circumstances of textualization for the hymns are completely unknown and largely irrelevant because of the great energy expended in their oral preservation. They could be, and likely were, textualized again and again without necessary recourse to a manuscript tradition. For a recent treatment of the orality of the Rg Veda see Datta (1999) who closely follows the methodology of Parry and Lord in his treatment.

<sup>31</sup> Adam Parry (1966) rejects it, as does Janko, West, et al.



The other view is that Homer was himself an oral poet who was personally responsible for the writing down of the epics, either by learning the art of writing or through dictation to an amanuensis.<sup>32</sup> Lord embraces this view, followed assiduously by Janko, and categorically denies the possibility of a literate Homer, noting that in their experience literacy has killed the abilities of productive and creative poet while an oral poet who becomes accustomed to the slower pace of composition necessary for dictation can ultimately produce far more excellent poetry.<sup>33</sup> Steve Reece has most recently contributed to the debate noting that the evolutionary model:

is in many ways a very attractive view: it accounts for the surge in popularity in the late 6th century of depictions of Homer in the graphic arts; it accounts for the sometimes considerable differences between our inherited texts, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the quotations of Homer by Classical authors, the variants reported in the manuscripts available to the Alexandrian editors, the longer and "eccentric" readings of the Ptolemaic papyri, and the other variants reported or suggested by the Hellenistic scholars.<sup>34</sup>

Nonetheless, certain features of the epics, especially the combination of overall thematic unity and certain inconcinnities (metrical, dictional, and narrative)

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<sup>32</sup> Kirk (1962) p. 101, dismisses this point of view by observing that "[a]t the root of this form of the oral-dictated-text argument lies the sentimental and irrational feeling that our version of Homer must be the 8<sup>th</sup>-century version itself. Unfortunately this is unlikely to be the case."

<sup>33</sup> Lord (1969) pp. 124ff. 136: "Those singers who accept the idea of a fixed text are lost to oral traditional processes. This means death to oral tradition and the rise of a generation of "singers" who are reproducers rather than re-creators....These "singers" are really counterfeits masquerading as epic bards!" Before his death, Lord (1995) pp. 212ff., had warmed somewhat to the notion of a transitional text for some traditions and types of traditions, though he worried that the "term *transitional text* is a grab bag often used to avoid the stigma of an oral text." p. 215. Furthermore, "the Homeric poems...are not transitional texts but the work of an oral traditional singer." p. 236.

<sup>34</sup> Reece (2000).

leave the problem vexed.<sup>35</sup> Janko considers the matter of textualization solved by way of oral composition, and this stance informs the nature and the method of his dating schema. To apply statistical tests to a group of texts one must start with texts.<sup>36</sup>

For his analysis, Janko uses the Oxford Classical Text of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, texts which he himself criticizes (*passim*) for neutralizing variants in parallel passages, restoring linguistic forms not found in the MSS, etc.<sup>37</sup> In reviewing West's more recent edition, which he endorses as a great improvement despite some of the edition's idiosyncrasies, he notes that a "better edition of the *Iliad* has long been needed. The readings of the OCT, which everyone trusts, depend more on Aristarchus' recommendations than on MS tradition."<sup>38</sup> The origins of a text, indeed the reality of an early fixed text, will remain a matter of dispute among scholars. We are nonetheless dependent upon the received text of the manuscript tradition. Ultimately we should accept this text as a representative of something real in antiquity but

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<sup>35</sup> Reece (2000). These are generally well known; perhaps most striking is the Trojan soldier Melanippos who manages to be killed three times in the *Iliad*. The arguments are in general consistent and overlapping with those of Janko (1998) pp. 1-13. Some verses are badly formed (e.g. v 194), while other show various degrees of non-sequiturs (e.g. v 103-6: Zeus thunders ὑπόθεν ἐκ νεφέων, 'from the clouds above,' but only a few lines later, the servant cries to Zeus ἐβρόντησας ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος, "having thundered from the starry heavens"). The famous dual forms in the embassy to Achilles in Book 9 of the *Iliad* have prompted countless explanations. Such apparent flaws may, oral dictation proponents claim, indicate that the oral poet of the "original" text did not edit his work after dictation. From a modern perspective, it is hard to conceive of a literate (and literary) poet letting these blemishes stand, or not being corrected in a slow fixation process.

<sup>36</sup> I do not pass definitive judgment on which model most closely reflects the reality of the history of the texts of the epos. Even presuming a dictated text of Homer (to leave aside the other poems of the epos for the moment), the relationship of that text to a modern edition remains intractable. That is not to say that the distribution of forms in our received text could not reflect the distribution of the those same forms in the earliest text, but we can never know for sure.

<sup>37</sup> See esp. Janko (1990) pp. 326-34.

<sup>38</sup> Janko (2000) p.1.

with Haslam's admonition that "[i]f we decide we have no choice but to follow the manuscripts, we ought not delude ourselves into thinking that they give us Homer pristine."<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Haslam (1997) p. 99.

## CHAPTER II

### Section 1: Background for Janko's method

Embracing the notion that the texts of the songs of early Greek epos are the punctual results of textualized oral tradition, Janko employs these texts as ending points of an ongoing tradition. Janko uses a linguistic and statistical analysis of certain features of the *Iliad* (*Il*), *Odyssey* (*Od*), *Theogony* (*Th*), *Works and Days* (*Erga*), *Catalog of Women* (*Cat*), the *Shield of Heracles* (*Aspis*), and the Homeric hymns to Demeter (*Dem*), Delian Apollo (*DAP*), Pythian Apollo (*PAP*)<sup>40</sup>, Hermes (*Herm*), and Aphrodite (*Aphr*) to establish a relative chronology for these early hexameter poems, eleven in all. He summarizes the method behind his attempt to date this portion of the Greek epos in his conclusions:

In an oral or mainly oral tradition... formulae are preserved over long periods...as an aid to composition... Formulae are modified, where it is metrically possible, in accord with developments in the spoken vernacular, and such modification is an important part of the bardic technique... Therefore one expects old formulae and archaisms to diminish in frequency through the generations, as innovative phraseology and language creeps in; and if this could be quantified, it might provide a yardstick useful for assigning approximate relative dates to the poems.<sup>41</sup>

The premise of the method is simple and elegant, and certain features of it are patently true. The language of the epos, like language in general, did change

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<sup>40</sup> Janko treats the hymn to Apollo as two distinct hymns. This is a widespread view, though not universally held, and thus he provides a brief defense of the partition with literature at Janko *HHH* pp.99ff.

<sup>41</sup> *HHH* pp. 188-9.

and develop. The epics are hardly the pristine product of the Bronze Age. Side by side with some significant archaisms, there are well-known neo-Ionicisms, late contraction products, etc., which clearly reflect the fact that newer language was incorporated into the epic diction. Indeed, the guiding principle regarding the development of the epic language has been that of Parry that “the language of oral poetry changes as a whole neither faster nor slower than the spoken language, but in its parts it changes readily where no loss of formulas is called for, belatedly when there must be such a loss, so that the traditional diction has in it words and forms of everyday use side by side with others that belong to earlier stages of the language.”<sup>42</sup> Janko’s approach seeks to use a number of unrelated features which show variants developed during the centuries of epic singing; these features individually do not necessarily provide a benchmark for chronological development among the songs of the epos, but the premise of Janko’s method is that together they may indicate a pattern of development which would indicate the relative chronology of the songs surveyed. This goes toward incorporating Parry’s principle regarding the language of oral poetry “as a whole.”

Toward this end, Janko counts the relative frequency of the following features of epic language:

- the observance or neglect of digamma,
- masculine ā-stem genitive sg. in -ᾱο versus -εω
- ā-stem genitive pl. in -ᾱων versus -έων /-ῶν
- o-stem gen. sg. in -οιο versus -ου
- the frequency of resolvable -ου (i.e. \*-oo)
- o- and ā-stem dat. pl. in -οιοι and -ησι /-αισι vs. -οις and -ης /-αις

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<sup>42</sup> Parry (1932) p.12 (=MHV 333)

- o- and ā-stem acc. pl. standing before a vowel versus consonant
- oblique forms of Ζεύς in Ζ- vs. Δ- (e.g. Ζηνός vs. Διός)
- nu-mobile used to make position

In later iterations of the theory, Janko has included more features which, he claims, illustrate the same pattern of development<sup>43</sup>:

- τέκος versus τέκνον<sup>44</sup>
- contracted θεῖος < θεῖος<sup>45</sup>
- contraction of ἐϋ- to εὖ- in compounds
- contraction of the adverb ἐϋ/εὖ

While the premise of the method, namely the distribution of archaic versus innovative variants, may seem acceptable, the relation of that premise and this list of features requires some unpacking. Janko employs two distinct definitions of “archaism” for his chronology. The first, and less debatable, definition includes linguistic archaisms. Categories in this group underwent linguistic innovation in Greek (or at least (East) Ionic) during the course of the oral tradition, and the epos thus shows a constellation of forms for which the archaic variant is the linguistic pre-form of the innovative variant. Innovations from the list above include “neglect” of initial digamma, forms showing

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<sup>43</sup> Janko (1992) p. 14, n.19.

<sup>44</sup> “The old word τέκος, preserved mainly in formulaic phrases, is losing ground to τέκνον; its usage falls from 36/79x *Il.* (45%) to 15/49x *Od.* (31%), 2/23 x in Hesiod (9%).” Janko (1992) p. 14, n.19.

<sup>45</sup> The uncontracted archaic variant is never guaranteed. The first syllable does appear in the second half of the fifth foot fairly frequently, which could suggest that it is (or once was) resolvable, but this is hardly a secure archaism. The bulk of the resolvable examples involve the form θεῖοιο at line end, very frequent in the *Odyssey* in the line ending Ὀδυσσεῖος θεῖοιο# (3x *Il.*, 24x *Od.*!). The *Odyssey*, on the other hand, shows a frequent line ending θεῖος ἀοιδός# 14x, unknown in the *Iliad*, where contraction is guaranteed. Ultimately, this feature cannot be diagnostic since the examples include only examples of guaranteed contraction and ambiguous examples.

quantitative metathesis (QM) (i.e. the ā-stem genitives),<sup>46</sup> contraction of the o-stem genitive singular in –ov < \*-oo, and contraction of ε̃ü- and ε̃ũ. Again, for all of these categories the epos shows examples of the archaic variant and the linguistically innovative variant derived from the archaism.<sup>47</sup> We thus have a diachronically ordered set of forms to count in these categories. It must be noted that Janko uses fewer categories of linguistic innovations than categories of the second type of “archaism”: forms which are not linguistic archaisms, per se, but rather are archaic in terms of the tradition. All songs of the epos, for example, show an overwhelming preference for the disyllabic, or “long,” endings –οισι and –ησι for the o- and ā-stem dative plurals. The “short” forms, at least for the o-stems in –οις, were present in Common Greek from the earliest time. Neither form, “long” or “short,” was the linguistic input for the other.<sup>48</sup> Any development in the frequency of deployment of one variant over another, therefore, resulted from dictional choices between forms which were available at every stage of development. Demonstrating such development without relying on circular arguments presents real difficulties.

Using the features above, Janko generates percentages of archaic versus innovative features. In general Janko counts older versus newer forms for each poem for each category, rendered as a percentage; for several features, though not all, he also renders a percentage of ambiguous cases versus all non-archaic

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<sup>46</sup> The evidence from these forms requires a great deal of argument, especially regarding a purported “Aeolic phase;” these questions will be addressed in Chapter VI.

<sup>47</sup> In fact, this slightly oversimplifies the picture; there are also ambiguous examples. For example, Homer shows 18 examples of the o-stem genitive singular which must be resolved to \*-oo (always scanned \*-oō, almost always before two consonants); Homer also shows several hundred examples of –ov with guaranteed contraction (i.e. in arsis or at line end) in addition to hundreds of examples of –ov in the second half of the foot where we could resolve –ov to \*-oo. Similarly, nu-mobile could mask the effects of initial digamma in certain sequences.

<sup>48</sup> cf. pp.31-2 below; also Shipp (1972) pp. 50ff.

examples. That is, for digamma he counts examples of observances and neglects, but leaves aside examples of originally  $\text{F}$ - initial words at line beginning and after closed heavy syllables where the effect of  $\text{F}$  - cannot be detected; he also sets aside examples of an apparent neglect which can be trivially removed- i.e after moveable nu.<sup>49</sup> Using this method Janko counts 1498 observances of digamma either obviating hiatus or making a preceding light syllable long by position, versus 312 examples of neglects; thus the percentage of neglects is 312/1810, or 17.2% by this relatively straightforward method; the same calculations are performed on the other songs of the epos. On the other hand, for the o-stem genitive singular, for example, Janko counts both the examples of the “archaic” ending -οιο as a percentage of all o-stem genitive singulars as one statistic, as well as the percentage of “innovative” -ου, not as a percentage of total o-stem genitive singulars, but rather as a percentage of all “non-archaic” examples (i.e not -οιο). That is, Janko figures the total number of guaranteed examples of -ου, before consonants or line end, and the total number of examples which either can or must be restored to \*-οο, or \*-ο', or where one could posit -οι' with elision before a vowel.<sup>50</sup> Thus for the *Iliad* Janko finds 1094 examples of -οιο out of 2106 total o-stem genitive forms, or 51.9%; there are 375 examples of guaranteed -ου, but Janko does not use the percentage of the total, 17.8%, but instead the percentage of all non-οιο forms, 637 non-guaranteed -ου, so 375/1012, or 37%. This same method is applied to

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<sup>49</sup> This phenomenon is especially prevalent at the major line segment breaks, e.g. τὸν δ' αὖτε πρῶοσέειπεν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων K64=T184 The criteria for determining observance of digamma vary significantly among scholarly treatments of the subject, and thus any count of observed or neglected digamma requires serious qualification. This complicated subject is treated more thoroughly in Part 3 and in the Appendix.

<sup>50</sup> e.g. κ 60 Αἰόλου κλυτὰ δῶματα (=Αἰόλοο κλυτὰ δῶματα)

B 133 # Ἰλίου ἐκπέρσαι (=Ἰλίο' εκ- ?)

A 114 # κουριδῆς ἀλόχου, ἐπεὶ (= ἀλοχοί' ἐπεί ?)



the o- and ā-stem dative plurals. Thus, for these two features, he generates two separate statistics, essentially 1) percent archaism per total forms, and 2) percent of guaranteed innovation per all "non-archaic" forms.

## Section 2: The Common Scale

The various innovations which affected epic language did not occur simultaneously, of course; the loss of initial digamma and Quantitative metathesis in Ionic, for example, were not simultaneous sound changes, and thus they provided their respective innovative variants to the tradition at different times. In order to compare the ratios for features whose innovative variants became available to epic language at different times, Janko unites the evidence on a common scale on which the values obtained for the *Iliad* are set at zero, the earlier benchmark, and those for *Theogony* at three units, the later benchmark. The distance of three units is arbitrary and is set for the purpose of comparison. Based on these benchmarks, the values obtained for the various features for each of the songs are plotted on the scale, which in effect rises from earlier to later. Interestingly, several of the songs cluster around specific points on the common scale, and Janko takes these clusters to be indicative of the relative date for that song. A simplified graphic of Janko's findings is seen in figure 1:<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Again, the *Iliad* and *Theogony* are arbitrarily set at 0 and 3, respectively; the clusters, shown in parentheses, are those calculated by Janko. For Janko's discussion of the common scale see *HHH* pp. 70-5; for the proposed clusters, some of which are based on only some of the features tested, see *HHH* pp. 80-83. In the latter passage in particular, Janko candidly admits the possibility that the results might not reflect chronology, but instead might result from regional factors or differences of genre among the songs in the epos.

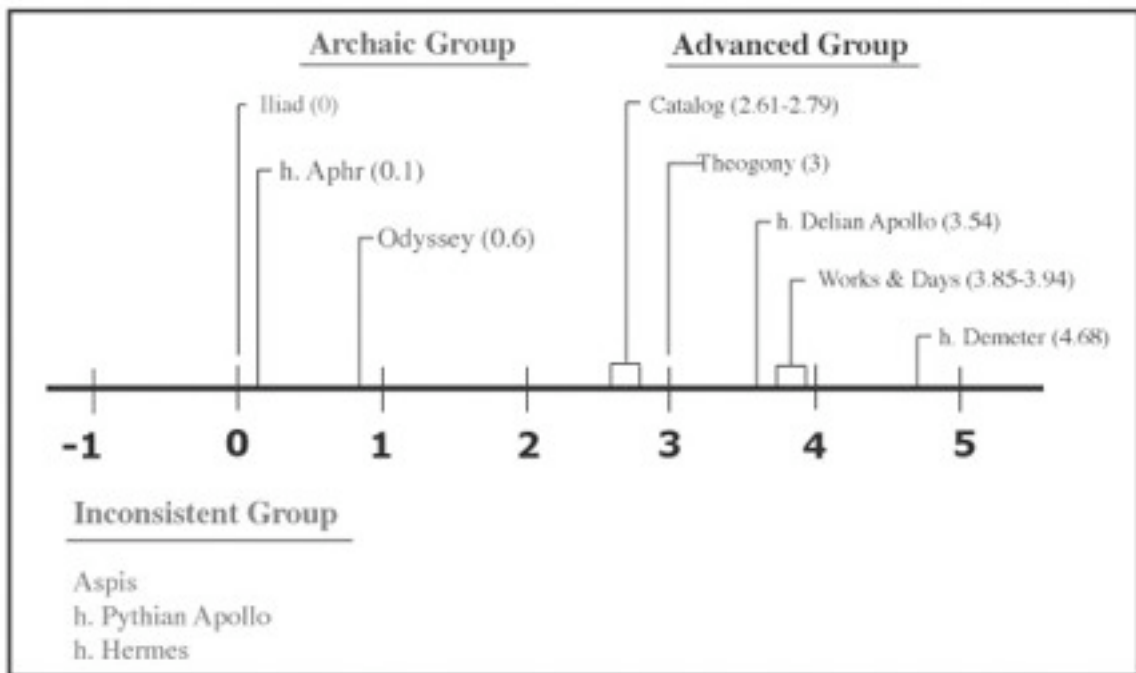


Figure 1: Individual songs ordered on the Common Scale

While Janko's method of establishing clusters consists of a series of arithmetic averages, his data produces a similar result when subjected to modern statistical algorithms for clustering. The following dendrogram, figure 2, was generated from Janko's data:<sup>52</sup>

<sup>52</sup> My special thanks to Dr. Lori Thumbs at the University of Missouri and her Spring 2005 graduate students in statistical consulting who were kind enough to help me in evaluating Professor Janko's statistical methods. A few points should be made about this graph. The results for the masculine  $\tilde{a}$ -stem genitive singular had to be excluded because *PAP* has no examples of either  $-\tilde{a}\omega$  or  $-\varepsilon\omega$ . Also, the figures for n-mobile could not be included because these are rendered as occurrences per thousand lines, rather than as a percentage of archaisms versus innovations. The figures for o- and  $\tilde{a}$ -stem accusative plurals, a highly suspect feature treated below, have been included. Every feature constitutes an axis in multidimensional space, and thus every poem is defined as a point in that space. The distance between these points can then be calculated and tested for clustering. The analogy of star clusters most closely approximates the technique. The order is irrelevant, merely a function of the data entry; that is, the group including *Il* and *Od*, corresponding to Janko's "Archaic" group,

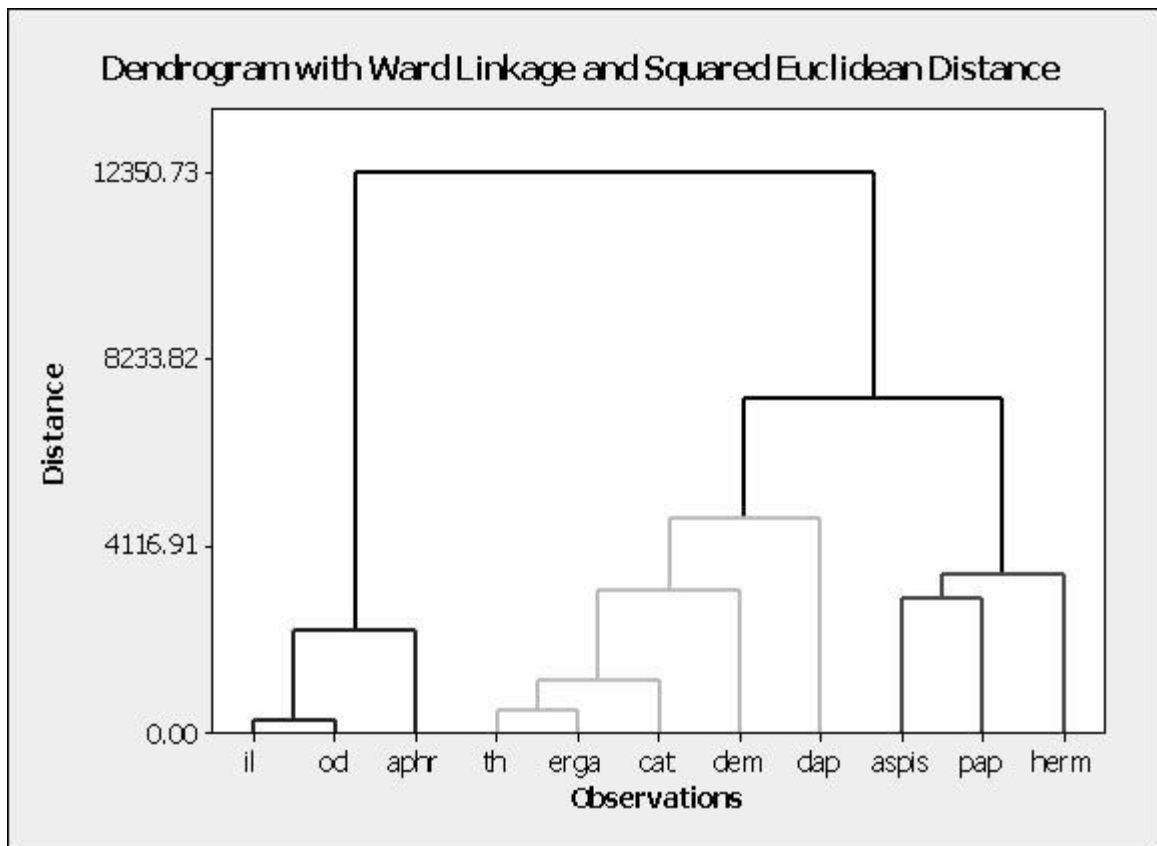


Figure 2: Individual Songs Clustered by Features

This dendrogram specifically reflects the relative similarity in distribution of variants among the poems. Janko argues that this distribution, since it is predicated upon features he takes to be archaisms and innovations, reflects the (relative) chronology of the poems themselves. It would be disingenuous to deny that these results are striking, but the relation of these clusters to chronology, as opposed to regional or idiolectal factors, must still be established. Janko extends his findings a great deal further in attempting to

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appears furthest left simply because the epics' features are closest to one another, not because the features are the most archaic.

establish absolute dates, as well as projecting the introduction of various innovations back into the prehistory of epic diction.

The attempt to establish specific dates for the poems produces a range of dates rather than a specific proposal for each of the songs.<sup>53</sup> The method essentially involves reducing the distances between the clusters to their lowest common denominator, essentially equivalent to the relative number of years separating the songs; these relative numbers can then be multiplied by whatever factor one chooses to produce the range of intervening years between poems. By this method, one can propose a set date for a single poem and determine various ranges for the possible relative dates for other songs. Janko calculates the range of dates with the *Theogony* set at 730, 700, 685, and 670, and the dates with *Erga* set at 680, 650, and 630. Some of these ranges Janko rejects on various bases; for example in order “for *Th* to be imitated by Semonides, a date above 650 is preferable.”<sup>54</sup> The other major application of the data is the proposal of relative dates for the introduction of different innovative features into epic diction.

### Section 3: The extension of the Common Scale

Using the values obtained for *Il* and *Th* for each feature, set at points 0 and 3 respectively on the common scale, Janko projects back the point on the

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<sup>53</sup> The range of absolute dates puts the *Iliad* at 750-725, *Odyssey* 743-713, *Theogony* 700-665, *Erga* 690-650, *Dem* 678-625. *HHH* Appendix E, pp. 228-31. In his presentation at the Symposium on Relative Chronology in Homer in Oslo, Norway, 2006, Prof. Janko joked that his work had faced some criticism on the simple basis that “only a lunatic” would offer fixed dates for the early Greek hexameter tradition; he stressed that his method provided what seem to him the most probable dates for the songs, relative to one another.

<sup>54</sup> *HHH* p. 230. Likewise, the supposed dates of colonization and the (arbitrarily) acceptable number of years between the works of Hesiod lead to a winnowing down of the possibilities to those noted at n.51.

common scale of complete archaism. For example, by his count, the *Iliad* neglects digamma at a rate of 17.2%, while the *Theogony* neglects digamma at a rate of 34.6%. Since there is a difference of three units on the common scale corresponding to a difference of 17.4 percentage points (i.e. 34.6-17.2), Janko projects that the neglect of digamma entered the epic diction at a point of -3.0 units. Using this method he obtains the following figures:

1. -οιο ceases to be sole o-stem genitive singular ending: -11.0.
2. Contraction in \*-oo first appears: -6.7.
3. o- and a-stem dative plurals begin to admit elision: -3.2.
4. Digamma is first neglected: -3.0.
5. -αο ceases to be the sole a-stem masculine genitive singular ending: -1.8.
6. Quantitative metathesis first appears in -άων: -1.7.
7. The Ionic declension Ζηνός etc. first appears: -1.6.
8. 'Short' o- and a-stem dative plurals arise which cannot be elided: -1.5.
- 9, 10. o- and a-stem accusative plurals begin to be biased towards appearing before consonants: not before -1.4 and -0.4 respectively.<sup>55</sup>

All of these figures derive *exclusively* from the percentages obtained from the *Iliad* and *Theogony*. Were any other two songs used, the overall sequence would remain largely the same, but the relative dates, i.e. points of the common scale would alter dramatically.

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<sup>55</sup> *HHH* 88-9. Janko includes a few important notes on this list which should be included for the sake of clarity. On the contraction of \*-oo (number 2): n.41 "This implies that \*-oo was not inherited from \*-oso. Certainly forms in \*-oo must appear before they can be contracted! Πηνελέω seemingly contradicts the sequence of contraction before quantitative metathesis, but in fact this cannot go back to \*\*Πηνελήfoo, as the latter is unmetrical." cf. Hoekstra, 1969a, p. 32 n.4.

This extension of the common scale perhaps best illustrates the great number of assumptions upon which Janko's chronological method is predicated. For this extension of the common scale to predict accurately the relative introduction of a given innovative feature into epic language, we are required to accept that the *Iliad* and *Theogony* are accurate representative samples of the epic tradition as a whole everywhere it was practiced at the respective moments when they were textualized; we are further obligated to believe that our received text accurately reflects this first textualization, at least to a high enough degree that the tested linguistic features show the same proportion as the "original." We must also discount the differences that regionalism, genre, and idiolect may have played in the development of the traditions underpinning the *Iliad* and *Theogony*.

To dramatize this conception we may imagine Homer's *Theogony* or Hesiod's *Iliad*. The former is somewhat easier, since Homer shows catalogs which largely resemble those also found in Hesiod.<sup>56</sup> Hesiod's *Theogony*, to be sure, transcends mere catalogs, as would the "Theogony" of the monumental poet of our *Iliad*, no doubt. We might posit that Hesiod's rendition of the saga at Troy, developed around the "Wrath of Achilles" would constitute an *Iliad*, whether or not he was familiar with the "Homeric" version. We are left to wonder whether that *Iliad* would deploy its features in a manner

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<sup>56</sup> The catalogs of Nereids at Σ 39ff. corresponds closely with that at *Th* 240ff. Zenodotus athetized the lines in Homer as being Hesiodic in character. There are matching sequences, but each song adapts the catalog somewhat to its own purposes; e.g. as Edwards points out (1991) p. 148, some of the non-Hesiodic names in Homer have a "nautical connection," such as Λιμνώρεια or Ἀμφιθόη. Homer's catalog is shorter and less motivated than Hesiod's, but clearly Homer was versed in much of the same traditional material, as even the order of many of the names is identical. Importantly, we need not posit that either catalog provides the exemplum for the other; the direction of influence is very difficult to prove in any case. For a fuller treatment of the relationship of these passages, see Krafft (1963), esp. 143ff., also West (1966) ad loc.

commensurate with Hesiod's other works or more closely with "our" *Iliad*. In the case of Hesiod, we may note that his *Theogony* and *Erga* show detectable differences in their features. Assuming that they are the works of a single poet, which there is little reason to doubt, these differences must be either chronological or generic, or some combination since the divergence of idiolects cannot account for differences in poems by the same poet. Janko's method requires that these differences be only diachronic. Hesiod's *Iliad*, if contemporaneous with his *Theogony*, would necessarily deploy its features at the level seen in the *Theogony* for his chronological model to work. Had Hesiod sung his *Theogony* at a date contemporaneous with Homer's *Iliad*, the two would, for Janko's method to hold, deploy their features at the same rate of archaism versus innovation; likewise for Homer, or *any other poet*, singing the *Iliad* contemporaneously with Hesiod's *Theogony*. Janko's method requires us to believe not only that, if we had textual evidence for rhapsodic performance of a single poem over numerous generations, these performances would show a steady rate of development in their diction, but also that the direction *and rate* of development seen in the course of a single song's development would obtain for all songs of the epos, whether didactic, hymnic, theogonic, or heroic. The method could indeed describe the chronology of the development of epic diction, but one must be ready to accept all of the assumptions described above to have confidence that it does. Absent any one of the pillars of faith, for indeed these are all by necessity founded on speculation, the correspondences may reflect any number of factors besides (or including) diachronic development.

#### Section 4: The definition of archaism

As stated above, Janko employs two definitions of “archaism” versus “innovation” for his method. The first is linguistic archaism, and the second involves sets of forms for which neither variant is more archaic in Greek itself, but rather one variant is original to epic diction to the exclusion of the other. This second category in fact provides the bulk of the comparanda for Janko’s method. For these categories of forms, the epos shows variants for which the archaic variant is not the linguistic pre-form of the innovative variant. Rather, one of the variants is “archaic” in the sense that it is (more) original to the tradition, while the other variant appears more frequently in later songs from the tradition. Obviously such a definition of archaism is bound to be controversial, since the chronological relationship between two variants must be established. The features which fall under this definition of “archaism/innovation” include o-stem genitive singulars in -οιο versus -ου, o- and ā-stem dative plurals in -οισι and -ησι /-αισι vs. -οις and -ης /-αις, o- and ā-stem accusative plurals standing before a vowel versus consonant, oblique forms of Ζεύς in Ζ- vs. Δ- (e.g. Ζηνός vs. Διός), nu-mobile used to make position, and the use of τέκος versus τέκνον.<sup>57</sup> In none of these cases is one of the variants a phonological/morphological pre-form of the other. Phraseology which shows participation in formulaic language has likely been available to the singers for

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<sup>57</sup> For these categories, Janko treats as innovations o-stem genitives in -ου, dative plurals in -οις /-ης/-αις, oblique forms of Ζεύς in Ζ-, nu-mobile used to make position, and τέκνον. Janko treats o- and ā-stem accusative plurals before vowels, where they are guaranteed as heavy syllables, as archaisms, while before consonants the forms could be underlyingly light which Janko, following Edwards (1971), treats as an innovation. Except in extremely rare examples in Hesiod, some corrupt, there are no secure examples of light accusative plural endings in -ος or -ᾶς. Certain of these forms are bound up with the idea of an Aeolic “phase” of epic, which will be treated below in Chapter VI.



a long period, while phraseology which does not, at least on available evidence, may be presumed more recent. Thus for these categories in particular Janko must establish a correlation between the distribution of the forms in the individual songs and a direction of diachronic development. The only benchmark available for establishing which variant is primary to the tradition is membership in traditional phrases, or formulae. This metric still lacks the objective underpinning enjoyed by cases of linguistic innovation, not least because of the difficulty of precisely defining “formulae.”

Janko rightly notes the complicated problem of defining traditional phrases and formulae, and pledges that though his system is necessarily arbitrary he will apply his definitions consistently.<sup>58</sup> He divides the forms of epic into four classes, A through D, with an eye toward establishing what phrases are more likely to be traditional. He defines as “Class A” those forms contained in phrases found in Homer, phrases being five or more syllables long or two or more feet, and at least two words by the OCT reading. Phrases need only be read once;<sup>59</sup> this is meant to account for underrepresented formulae. “Class B” contains Homeric phrases in slightly modified form, such as in a declined or conjugated formula. “Class C” consists of forms attested in Homer, but not in phrases as defined for “Class A” (ignoring moveable nu). Those forms which do not occur in Homer, including cases of neglect of digamma where Homer always observes it, for instance, fall into “Class D.”

It is instructive to look at a specific case of the employment of the above system. The dative plurals of the *o*- and *ā*-stems show an alternation between “short” and “long” forms; “short” forms end in *-οις*, *-ης*, or *-αις*, while “long”

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<sup>58</sup> *HHH* 43-4.

<sup>59</sup> sc. “in Homer;” that is, a phrase as defined may be repeated among the other songs of the epos, even frequently, but if the phrase does not appear in Homer it is not in Class A.

forms end in  $-\omicron\iota\varsigma(v)$ ,  $-\eta\sigma\iota(v)$ , or  $-\alpha\iota\sigma\iota(v)$ . Short forms are only guaranteed before consonants or at line end, since before vowels they could represent long forms with elision. The long forms predominate everywhere in the epos, with long forms providing more than 65% of the  $\omicron$ - and  $\bar{a}$ -stem dative plurals in all songs. Neither the short nor the long forms, however, are a precursor to the other set of forms; rather, both the long and short forms have origins in the proto-language.<sup>60</sup> As Shipp notes:

The question of the use of  $-\omicron\iota\varsigma$  is difficult because on the one hand the ending is in all probability inherited from Indo-European and was that of mainland Aeolic, on the other hand, the poets show a decided preference for  $-\omicron\iota\sigma\iota$ , so one should be on the look-out for special circumstances where  $-\omicron\iota\varsigma$  is used, and (at least) when they can be suggested not use it as an indication of lateness in the context.<sup>61</sup>

This is the dilemma of employing the morph for chronology; Janko must demonstrate that secure short forms are not merely more rare in Homer, say, but in fact recent to the tradition everywhere. The alternative hypothesis which must be refuted is that whatever distribution is found in Homer, Hesiod, and the hymns is owed to the stylistic habits of a particular region or singer or song tradition within the larger tradition.<sup>62</sup> In an attempt to

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<sup>60</sup> This is literally true only for the  $\omicron$ -stems, though the  $\alpha$ -stems developed in parallel with the  $\omicron$ -stems from a very early time. A fuller account of the linguistic background of the variants will be taken up in Chapter III. The long and short forms of both  $\omicron$ - and  $\bar{a}$ -stems will be treated together in this section.

<sup>61</sup> Shipp (1972) p. 50.

<sup>62</sup> By habits particular to a song tradition within the larger tradition I refer to the likelihood that certain forms, phrases, and formulae were specific to broad genres within epic such as heroic/martial poetry versus didactic or theogonic poetry; the further possibility exists that even during the productive oral phase of the tradition there existed genres within these broad categories, so that we could speak of *Iliadic* or *Odyssean* phrases within the context of heroic poetry tradition. At the furthest end of the spectrum, of course, lies the concept of a fixed text.

demonstrate that the short endings are not traditional, and thus a late arrival to the epic tradition, Janko examines the dative plurals of *o*- and *ā*-stems in the hymns to Demeter and Aphrodite. It is generally agreed that these songs, as indeed all the hymns, are part of the “sub-epic” stage of the tradition,<sup>63</sup> and thus their practice may be indicative of trends in the direction of the epic diction’s development.<sup>64</sup>

Using the categories of formulaic language defined above, Janko finds the following distribution:

Table 1: Distribution of Categories of "Formulaic" Language<sup>65</sup>

<i>Dem</i>				<i>Aphr</i>			
Class	long	dub.	short		long	dub.	short
A	21	5	0		17	0	0
B	11	1	0		8	0	0
C	22	3	5		19	5	0
D	12	1	20		9	4	4

About these findings Janko pronounces that the “preponderance of long forms in Class A Homeric phrases and short forms in Class D proves beyond doubt that short endings tend to occur in innovative contexts, and the reverse for long endings.”<sup>66</sup> As with much of Janko’s method, his confidence in his results

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<sup>63</sup> cf. Hoekstra (1969), with references. Dissenting is Porter (1949) p. 250, who argues that there is nothing which suggests that Aphrodite is younger than the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*.

<sup>64</sup> We must beware of the circularity of this argument for chronology. To refer to non-Homeric poetry as “sub-epic” already prejudices the question of objective relative chronology. We cannot assert that a hymn is later than Homer, and then presume to prove that the hymn is later because a feature whose diachronic development is unclear is deployed with a different distribution than in Homer; neither can we establish the diachronic development of that feature based on assumptions about the relative date of Homer and the hymns.

<sup>65</sup> =HHH Table 16, p. 56.

<sup>66</sup> HHH p. 56

is difficult to share once the evidence has been unpacked. The four guaranteed short endings in *Aphr* provide a telling exemplum.

Janko counts all the short examples as class D, meaning that the forms do not occur in Homer. Certainly the form αἶς, fem. dat. pl. relative pronoun, does not occur in our texts of Homer, nor does its phrase αἶς ποτε πάντας# have any obvious analog in Homer; it is, at least from our available evidence, not traditional. The other examples are not so straightforward, however. The form ἀνθρώποις is guaranteed short at line end at line 52 in the phrase καταθνητοῖς ἀνθρώποις #. On the one hand, Homer never shows the dative plural of ἄνθρωπος with a guaranteed short ending, but Homer does show numerous examples of the genitive formula καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων#. <sup>67</sup> ἀνθρώποις, then, by Janko's criteria, should be classified under Class B. It is a modification of a phrase which is established in Homer which does not itself occur in Homer, but the modification is squarely within bardic practice. The two remaining secure short examples, which Janko puts in Class D, may belong rather in Class C because of some trivial textual issues. Line 135 begins #σοῖς τε κασιγνήτοις, showing a secure short dative plural. <sup>68</sup> There is no clear formulaic analog in Homer, but the decision between Class C and Class D hinges on whether Homer shows σοῖς before a consonant, i.e. as a secure short or ambiguous before a vowel. Homer shows the following lines:

σοῖς ἀγανοῖς ἐπέεσσιν ἐρήτυε φῶτα ἕκαστον B 164

σοῖς δ' ἀγανοῖς ἐπέεσσιν ἐρήτυε φῶτα ἕκαστον B 180

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<sup>67</sup> Z123, γ114, etc.

<sup>68</sup> This is the reading of Allen-Halliday (1980); the apparatus indicates that M shows an alternative reading δοῖώ τε κασιγνήτω. Of course, one could easily delete τε and read σοῖσι, though there is no direct evidence for the reading, or compelling reason to do so.

This is the OCT reading; Van Thiel's edition reads δ' at both lines; West's edition prints both lines without δ' but indicates the evidence for the reading with δ' in his substantial apparatus.<sup>69</sup>

Finally, the fourth secure short ending involves the phrase #ὄλβιον ἐν λαοῖς καὶ etc. at line 106. Homer does not show the phrase, but we do find one example of λαοῖς before a vowel (P 251), and the following line:

οἶος σὺν λαοῖς τοῖ Ἰλίῳ ἐγγεγάασιν· (P 145)

Again, there are problems with the reading. The OCT reads λαοῖς, but Van Thiel and West both read λαοῖσι τοῖ Ἰλίῳ with neglect of initial digamma.<sup>70</sup> Thus, while the phrase ἐν λαοῖς in *Aphr* is isolated, we see in the Homeric evidence ambivalence of the tradition regarding the diachronic development, if any, between long and short forms. That is, the reading λαοῖς τοῖ Ἰλίῳ observes digamma, but shows the supposedly innovative –οῖς dative ending; the MSS reading λαοῖσι τοῖ Ἰλίῳ must neglect digamma (an innovation) in order to employ the long ending (an archaism according to Janko). In the latter reading we see the long ending used in an innovative context. This is precisely counter to the claims that Janko's classification system means to imply.

Turning now to the deployment of the variants in Demeter, we find a similar pattern. Janko counts 25 guaranteed short forms: five Class C and

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<sup>69</sup> The line in the hymn does not show clear formulaic antecedents; as such, the classification, C or D, amounts to virtually nothing- which is precisely the point.

<sup>70</sup> The reading λαοῖς is that of Heyne, discussed by Haslam in the *New Companion to Homer* (1997) p. 99: "The tendency today, an extreme reaction to earlier excesses, is to refuse them [i.e. restorations] altogether and to lay down a strictly hands-off policy, allowing Homer to sing nothing unattested. But it should be possible to recognize the difficulty of pinpointing places at which change has occurred without denying that change *has* occurred." To P 145 we should compare line Z 493: πᾶσι, μάλιστα δ' ἐμοί, τοῖ Ἰλίῳ ἐγγεγάασιν. The scansion of the line end segment would seem to favor λαοῖς but this is against the MSS evidence for this line.

twenty Class D.<sup>71</sup> This is again meant to show that the short dative plurals do not participate in formulaic language and thus are likely late additions to the hexameter tradition. His counting is incorrect, however. The actual tally is as follows:

Table 2: Corrected Classification of “Formulaic” Language<sup>72</sup>

*Dem*

Class	long	dub.	short
A	19 (21)	4 (5)	0 (0)
B	10 (11)	1 (1)	5 (0)
C	24 (22)	5 (3)	6 (5)
D	13 (12)	0 (1)	15 (20)

The primary discrepancy for the short forms in Class D arise from two lines:

ἄθανάτοις τε θεοῖς ἠδὲ θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποις. 11

αὐτίς ἄνει μέγα θαῦμα θεοῖς θνητοῖς τ' ἀνθρώποις. 403

Each of the underlined words is classified as Class D, though we have just seen that the epic tradition shows the line ending (κατα)θνητοῖς (τ') ἀνθρώποις almost exactly in *Aphr*, and the metrically equivalent genitive plural is frequent at line end in Homer, Hesiod and the hymns. Additionally, Hesiod shows the formula in the nominative plural and the accusative plural, and the *Iliad* also shows the latter.<sup>73</sup> By Janko's own standards the underlined forms above unquestionably belong in Class B, as a declined formula, indeed a

<sup>71</sup> In fact there are twenty-six, though I suspect that Janko may omit ὕλης (l. 386) at line end, though he does not directly indicate this. Allen-Halliday (1936) remark that this attestation would be the earliest in Greek p. 172. Against the dative plural we can compare the repeated phrase ὄρος καταείμενον ὕλη τ 431, ν 351.

<sup>72</sup> This count includes ὕλης. I have provided Janko's counts in parentheses for reference.

<sup>73</sup> δαμνᾷ ἀθανάτους ἠδὲ θνητοὺς ἀνθρώπους. Ξ 199 The affinities particularly with line 11 are striking and obvious.

rather well attested one. We can also compare for both of the lines in *Aphr* line 588 of the *Theogony*:

θαῦμα δ' ἔχ' ἀθανάτους τε θεοὺς θνητούς τ' ἀνθρώπους.

In language and theme, the poet of the hymn is clearly working within the confines of the oral tradition, rendering verses through the usual techniques of declension and transposition, if indeed he did not himself inherit the lines as we have them. Janko's method obscures the larger picture of the tradition by assigning the works of Homer the role of arbiter for formulaic language. The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* could show peculiarities and idiosyncrasies which do not reflect the development of the tradition as a whole. As we will see below, Homer's deployment of o- and ā-stem dative plurals in particular may simply be out of step with the practices of the tradition as a whole. One more example will serve to illustrate this point.

At line 473 *Dem* shows the line end θεμιστοπόλοις βασιλεῦσι; the epithet is unknown in Homer, but Hesiod has the line from the *Ehoiai*.<sup>74</sup>

Αἰολίδαι δ' ἐγένοντο θεμιστοπόλοι βασιλῆες

*Dem* also shows two examples of the formula at line end in the genitive plural (103 and 215, non-repeated lines). The epithet θεμιστοπόλοι(ς) is non-Homeric both in attestation and world-view. Βασιλῆες in Homer are generally διοτρεφεῖς whether in the nominative, genitive, or accusative plural. (Homer does not show an epithet for the dative plural βασιλεῦσι.) The Homeric βασιλεύς tends not appear in the role of law-giver, and the relationship between the ἄναξ and the βασιλεύς in Bronze Age and Archaic society is beyond the scope of this inquiry,<sup>75</sup> especially vis-à-vis the realities of

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<sup>74</sup> fr. 10 .1; Merkelbach-West (1967) p. 7.

<sup>75</sup> cf. Finley (1978), pp. 133ff., West (1978) p.151f., Morris (1986).

the contemporary society of Homer, Hesiod, and the hymnists. Regardless, the fact that Homeric βασιλῆες are not θεμιστοπόλοι has no bearing on the traditional nature of the epithet in the larger tradition. Likewise, Homer shows a different usage for the term μαλακός 'soft.' *Aphr* shows the phrase #χλαίνησιν μαλακῆς ἐστρωμένον· at line 158, to which we can compare *Erga* 537 χλαῖνάν τε μαλακὴν καὶ τερμιόεντα χιτῶνα. Homer certainly speaks of the garment, but never describes it as μαλακή, a term most frequently applied to the bed (εὐνῇ ἐνι μαλακῇ, ἐν λέκτροισι...μαλακοῖσιν), sleep (μαλακῶ... ὕπνω), and words (μαλακοῖς ἐπέεσσιν), among other things. The application to clothing is not unknown to Homer (e.g. μαλακὸν...χιτῶνα B 42, ἐσθῆτος μαλακῆς ψ 290), but the χλαῖνα is never so described.<sup>76</sup> Just as we saw with the role (and epithet) of the βασιλεύς in the social system of Homer differ from the world of hexameter poetry outside the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, heroic fashion, likewise, does not begin and end with Homer. A system for determining the formulaic status of hexameter phraseology which assumes the primacy of Homer cannot be a tool for proving that Homer's were the earliest hexameter poems. As such, Janko's system is not equipped to discover or demonstrate the direction of development of epic diction as it developed across the Greek world. This reality is particularly acute regarding the *o*- and *ā*-stem dative plurals.

The long forms dominate everywhere, even when all ambiguous forms are treated as underlyingly short.<sup>77</sup> The *Iliad* shows only 48 guaranteed short

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<sup>76</sup> The χλαῖνα is generally without an epithet, but is sometimes described in color (πορφυρέην, φοινικέεσσαν) or make (οὖλας).

<sup>77</sup> In fact, Janko's statistics for the percentage of long forms effectively treats the ambiguous examples ("dub.") as short since the percentage he renders reflects the ratio of guaranteed long forms to non-long forms. *Dem* shows the lowest percentage of guaranteed long forms



forms among over 1700 total *o*- and *ā*-stem dative plurals. The scarcity becomes even starker when word shape is taken into account. Certain shapes are impossible, such as the cretic — ˘ —, and others, like the antispastic ˘ — — ˘, are strongly disfavored in any position. We can see an example of the effects of word shape in the variant forms of the dative plural “for the Achaeans.” The possibilities include the short form Ἀχαιοῖς (and the metrically equivalent elided form Ἀχαιοῖς’ (˘ — —)), and the long form(s) Ἀχαιοῖσι(ν) attested only once without movable-nu at X 217 <sup>tr</sup> Ἀχαιοῖσι προτὶ νῆας # (˘ — — — (+CC)); elsewhere movable-nu makes position (10x *Il*, 1x *Od*).<sup>78</sup> The guaranteed short form is attested at line end seven times in the *Iliad*; ἐρετμοῖς, ἀρίστοις, and (possibly) ἑταίροις<sup>79</sup> also each occur once in the *Iliad*, each at line end. Neither ἐρετμοῖς nor ἀρίστοις shows the use of a long form with movable-nu. Janko counts only 38 guaranteed examples of the short ending -οῖς for the whole of the *Iliad*, meaning that nearly one in four cases (9/38) involve a word whose metrical shape strongly disfavors the long form. The line-initial collocation τοῖς δ(έ) accounts for eleven more examples in the *Iliad*; whether the short

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with 65.3%. When the ambiguous examples are set aside the contrast only heightens, as seen in the following table:

Work	% short	% long
<i>Il</i>	3.0	97.0
<i>Od</i>	5.2	94.8
<i>Th</i>	17.3	82.7
<i>Erga</i>	23.3	76.7
<i>Dem</i>	27.4	72.6
<i>Aphr</i>	7.0	93.0

Since ambiguous examples have been excluded, the percentage of long forms equals the difference of the % short forms and 100.

<sup>78</sup> The examples where movable-nu makes position do not appear to be traditional. There is only one repeated phrase: Ἀχαιοῖσιν δὲ μέγα σθένος ἔμβαλ’ ἐκάστω at Λ 11 and Ξ 151, in each case followed by a repeated line.

<sup>79</sup> Γ 259; Allen and West each read ἑταίροις, but van Thiel chooses the variant ἑταίρους, known to Didymus. The MSS also offer the impossible ἐτέροις.

ending is original to the pronoun is a matter of debate,<sup>80</sup> but the eleven examples are not obvious modifications of phrases with long forms.

The short forms, of course, serve as an aid in the system of declension of formulae, as we have seen, *pace* Janko. Janko cites two of the forms mentioned above to illustrate just this point, but he views the fact of declension as certain indication of the direction of modification and attendant diachronic relationship. To λαὸν Ἀχαιοῖς # at E 465 he compares the markedly more frequent use of the genitive “of Achaeans,” λαὸν Ἀχαιῶν # (20x Il.), and λαὸς Ἀχαιῶν # (4x Il.). Likewise, he compares the line ending Ἀχαιῶν νεῖμαν ἄριστοις # at Γ 274 to line endings in the *Odyssey* such as Ἀχαιῶν νῆες ἄριστοι # and Ἀχαιῶν ὅστις ἄριστος #. The declension of formulae is a powerful tool of the singers to adapt phrases to a particular context. These declined phrases act as a system, however; for modification to imply chronology it should involve a form that became available some time after the creation of the model phrase. Since -οῖς was available already in the proto-language, it is difficult to prove chronology simply from a declined formula; the formula could have appeared in various cases for generations. The Homeric tradition, the *Iliadic* branch in particular, then is especially resistant to the short dative plural.<sup>81</sup> As such there are exceedingly few Homeric lexical items showing the short endings. In terms of classifying traditional diction based on Homeric usage, therefore, it is to be expected that guaranteed short

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<sup>80</sup> cf. Shipp’s treatment of the subject (1972) pp.52f.

<sup>81</sup> cf. Peters (1986) p. 307. Peters rejects the attribution of the short dative plural endings to an “Achaean” phase of epic as propounded by Ruijgh (*passim*). Besides the situation that in Mycenaean -οῖς and -αις must have been limited to dative and instrumental function, the low frequency and the common deployment of such dat. pl forms in Homer indicate that the short forms -οῖς -ης were introduced into the epos first by Homer himself. The West-Ionic of Oropos (which Peters believes to be the homeland of the poet of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*) and Euboea, including its western colonies, show the “short” endings exclusively.

forms overwhelmingly fall into the C and D category. The two Homeric words which show the short ending with any frequency,<sup>82</sup> Ἀχαιοῖς and ἐρετμοῖς, simply do not occur outside of Homer.<sup>83</sup> Again, we do not know whether Homer's practice was in line with that of hexameter singers elsewhere, or whether the singing traditions of other hexameter songs even in Homer's region more freely admitted the short dative plural forms. Janko's claim that the proportion of short dative plural forms were steadily increasing in the epic language, therefore, remains more stated than proved.

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<sup>82</sup> Excluding the pronoun τοῖς.

<sup>83</sup> Hesiod shows two examples of Ἀχαιοί (*Erga* 651 and fr. 23a line 17).

### CHAPTER III: THE UNITY OF THE ORAL TRADITION

#### Section 1: Chronology versus geography

That Homer's epics could have peculiarities of usage not in line with the tradition elsewhere is a major stumbling block for a statistical diachronic analysis of the epos. Without an overall unified epic tradition, the distribution of features cannot be securely tied to chronology, particularly for those categories whose alternative forms are not linguistic pre-forms one to another. Needing a coherent tradition to justify the method, Janko rejects the approach of Pavese,<sup>84</sup> who argues for a separate mainland tradition for Hesiod, "independent of and parallel with Ionia, with a shared nucleus of formulae but a considerable number unique to the mainland tradition."<sup>85</sup> Janko does not dismiss the notion of regionalism completely, admitting that "influence from a mainland tradition that subsisted at local levels to affect epichoric verse-inscriptions cannot be excluded."<sup>86</sup> And he dismisses Pavese's suggestion of a mainland school on the grounds of the paucity of evidence and the unlikely neglect of digamma without Ionic influence. Beyond this, the "mainland" school is exemplified by a handful of isolated forms in Hesiod. While Janko may be justified in rejecting Pavese's broad formulation of a specifically mainland/island dichotomy, we must consider whether the situation was indeed more complicated, even down to more concentrated regional or even local differences.

Janko's method depends on a unified tradition, but when faced with the evidence of the poems unabstracted into mere counts of forms, Janko

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<sup>84</sup> Pavese (1972), and (1974) esp. pp. 57ff.

<sup>85</sup> *HHH* p. 13.

<sup>86</sup> *HHH* p. 13.

seems less confident of its results. His treatment of the hymn to Aphrodite reveals his ambivalence on the matter.<sup>87</sup> The date of the hymn presents real difficulties since, on the one hand, it has a good MSS tradition, little corruption, and shows relatively few late features, but on the other hand the hymn is hardly referred to or quoted in antiquity. It is obscure in date, place of origin, and in relation to other poetry.

Allen-Halliday-Sikes remark that the “*date* of the hymn is naturally uncertain. Its language usually inclines critics to find it old. As many as twenty verses come from Homer with little or no variation; and the poem abounds in epic hemistiches and formulae. On the other hand there are a number of non-Homeric words and usages.... On the whole the hymn can hardly be dated later than 700 B.C.”<sup>88</sup> This agrees with the assessment of Porter who sees an early date commensurate with the Homeric poems.<sup>89</sup> The hymn’s place of origin is also obscure: cf. Κύπρις (l. 2), the phrase κύπριοιο ἔυκτιμένης (l. 292) and the word σατίνη ‘chariot’ (l. 13); such forms led Fick to claim the hymn was Cyprian in origin as well as outlook.<sup>90</sup> These are stock epithets, though, and Sappho, Anacreon, and Euripides use σατίνη. It bears no evidence of having been composed and/or performed for a specific

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<sup>87</sup> Janko articulates as much in reference to the hymn to Pythian Apollo (*HHH* pp. 126-7): “It is certainly true to say that at this stage and branch of the epic tradition, where the poets were composing in an Ionian dialect that differed substantially from their vernacular, the development of the poetic diction was affected more by Homeric poetry and probably by ideas of what Ionian diction should be like than by the vernacular dialects of the mainland. This contrasts with the situation during the Aeolic phase and the transition to the Ionic dialect: but we are not entitled to conclude from this that this later poetry is either less oral or less creative.” I suggest that we can conclude, however, that the conception of a monolithic tradition, necessary for Janko’s statistical chronology, is fantasy.

<sup>88</sup> Allen-Halliday-Sikes (1980) p. 350.

<sup>89</sup> Porter (1949) p. 250.

<sup>90</sup> Allen-Halliday-Sikes (1980) p. 350.

occasion. “But the mention of the Trojan nurse in Phrygis (113) clearly implies Asia, as well as the distinction between the Trojan and Phrygian languages. The author may have been an Aeolian or a Lesbian, e.g. Lesches.”<sup>91</sup>

The dominant view treats the poem as (highly) archaic, but there are, naturally, dissenting voices. Suhle was moved by the non-Homeric words and usages to suggest that “the author of the hymn was a contemporary of the Pisistratidae, or even of Sophocles!”<sup>92</sup> This view has been pushed even further to claim that the hymn to Aphrodite was not archaic at all, not even classical, but Hellenistic.<sup>93</sup> The rationale for a Hellenistic date ranges from the “spicy” eroticism and subtlety of thought evinced by the speeches of the hymn, perceived rather impressionistically as inappropriate to archaic poetry, to more concrete metrical and morphological concerns.<sup>94</sup> A late date for the hymn would indeed cause turmoil for Janko’s method, since his figures indicate that the hymn clusters at 0.1 on the common scale, earlier than even the *Odyssey*, which shows a cluster at 0.6.

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<sup>91</sup> Allen-Halliday-Sikes (1980) p. 351.

<sup>92</sup> Allen-Halliday-Sikes (1980) p. 350, referencing Suhle (1878) ad loc..

<sup>93</sup> esp. Freed and Bentman (1955) CJ 50, 153-9; Janko addresses their arguments directly at *HHH* 162-3, quite rightly pointing out that the neoteric poets seem far less concerned with oral formulaic style than polished verse. *Variatio*, from our available evidence, seems to have been an integral part of the Hellenistic program, and so there is no parallel for proposing that *Aphr* imitated Homeric style in the way that later poets, principally Quintus of Smyrna, clearly did.

<sup>94</sup> cf. Peters (1987) pp. 233ff. on Georg Danek’s *Studien zur Dolonie*. The hymn to Aphrodite shows a singularly low frequency of spondees before the bucolic diaeresis, without example in the archaic epic. There is apparent innovation in the future forms of τεκεῖσθαι line 127, ἐκγεγάονται line 197, whose first formal parallels are not shown before Theocritus (e.g. μαθεῖσθαι, παθεῖσθαι, φυγεῖσθαι, from φάγομαι, φύγομαι; Peters explains ἐκγεγάονται on the basis of an analogy, (ἐ)πίε : \*ἐκγέγαε = πίομαι : x, x = ἐκγεγάομαι). *Contra* Chantraine (1935) p.131-2, followed by Janko (*HHH*) p. 157. Peters suggests that the hymn might even be better dated to Hellenistic times. Hoekstra (1969) p. 39f. prefers to see *Aphr* 197 (καὶ παῖδες παίδεσσι διαμπερὲς ἐκγεγάονται) as the result of an epic remodeling of Poseidon’s prophesy in the “*Aeneis*” of the *Iliad* at Υ 308 (καὶ παίδων παῖδες, τοί κεν μετόπισθε γένωνται).

This early cluster notwithstanding, Janko proposes a later date for the hymn, situating it between the *Theogony* and the *Erga*. Janko proposes that either (1) the poem is archaic but with advanced features occurring at random or as a result of regional influence; or (2) the poem is post-Homeric with regional characteristics and/or deliberate archaizing. Janko decides that the poem is certainly post-Homeric, and that “the archaic diction is caused by the influence of the original Aeolic tradition, to which the fragments of the *Cypria* also belong (in this case the inconsistencies in the amount of archaism in some features can be explained).”<sup>95</sup>

Before even evaluating the merit of positing “original Aeolic” influence on the text of *Aphr*, we must acknowledge that Janko apparently does not actually believe in a fundamental tenet of his dating schema. That is, “in an oral or largely oral tradition, we expect the frequency of archaisms to decline and innovations to increase.”<sup>96</sup> Once we admit that the various poems of the epos cannot be reduced to one monolithic tradition, the statistical correspondences cannot be automatically ascribed to diachronic development. In fact, there are numerous axes on which the songs may diverge. Every performance, and thus every textualization of a performance, brings together a nexus of an inherited tradition of singing a particular song and the vicissitudes of the singer himself, who colors the tradition with the effects of his own training, competence, and personal flair. Regional concerns are intertwined with both sides of the equation, and Janko’s treatment of the individual hymns goes toward acknowledging the limitations of his relative chronology. Janko ironically embraces a quite narrow view of the tradition of

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<sup>95</sup> HHH 152.

<sup>96</sup> HHH 80.

*Aphr*, ultimately positing a specifically Northern Aeolic tradition lately influenced by Ionic represented only by *Aphr*, the *Cypria* and possibly *h. 6*, while the rest of the epos derived from a Southern Aeolic tradition which passed into an Ionic phase and ultimately produced the work of Homer, Hesiod, and the other hymns.

While the hymn contains a number of archaisms, Janko is correct in his assessment that the “archaisms do not suffice to subvert the view of Kamerbeek, Heitsch, and Hoekstra that the poem is rich in post-Homeric modifications, forms and usages.”<sup>97</sup> Janko establishes that *Dem* knows the poetry of *Aphr*, through old-fashioned *exemplum* and *imitation*. He proposes that the poet of *Aphr* is aware of Hesiod’s *Theogony*,<sup>98</sup> but that the *Erga* may in turn imitate *Aphr*. The evidence is not overwhelming, but nothing overtly excludes the possibility. The relationship of *Aphr* to the *Erga* is intriguing. Janko notes the line ending ἔργα πολυχρύσου Ἀφροδίτης| at *Aphr* 1(=9) corresponds to *Erga* 521 ἔργ’ εἰδυῖα πολυχρύσου Ἀφροδίτης|, which is not so uncommon as to be diagnostic (and certainly not diagnostic of the direction of imitation). Even the far less common παρθενικὰς ἀπαλόχροας at *Aphr* 14 could simply have a common source with its counterpart in *Erga*, παρθενικῆς ἀπαλόχροος, despite being rather rare. There may be *imitatio* behind the correspondences, but even phrases which seem rare to us may have been

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<sup>97</sup> *HHH* 161. These archaisms and innovative usages are ably collected by Janko at pp. 160f., and Hoekstra (1969) pp. 39ff.

<sup>98</sup> *HHH* 161-2, 156ff. Some of the supposed correspondences are so trivial as to be meaningless. *Aphr* 1. 24 #πότνιαν is unhomeric, as the accusative does not occur; *Th* 11 shows πότνιαν Ἥρην# as a declined form of the common Homeric πότνια Ἥρη#. *Aphr* 92 and 95 show μακάρων designating the gods without an accompanying θεῶν; Heitsch considers this a Hesiodic trait (cf. *Th* 33, *Erga* 136, 718, 730), though the *Odyssey* also shows an example (κ 299).



perfectly current in song traditions which were perfectly mainstream but are lost to us.

Janko, faced with some discrepancy in the deployment of features, does face the dilemma, particularly acute among late songs, of whether the “massive bulk of archaic diction represents a deliberate choice on the poet’s part to counterfeit an archaic poem, or at least to imitate closely the effect of an archaic fixed text such as Homer’s.”<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> *HHH* 173.

## CHAPTER IV: THE STATISTICS

### Section 1: a case study of the *o*- and *ā*-stem accusative plurals

Easily the most convoluted and controversial feature treated by Janko, by his own admission, is the accusative plural of the *o*- and *ā*-stems.<sup>100</sup> This feature was treated well and thoroughly for Hesiod by Edwards<sup>101</sup> who argues that Hesiod pronounced these accusative plural endings with light syllables. In addition to the few scattered forms in the *Theogony* and *Erga* where the text shows -*ās* as the accusative plural of an *ā*-stem scanned short, Edwards suggests that the frequency with which Hesiod places these accusatives before consonants, effectively masking their underlying scansion, is higher in Hesiod than in Homer. Janko extends these findings to the other songs of the epos, proposing that the tendency toward underlying light accusative plurals obtains for all the songs of the epos, and that this feature too shows a steady progression from early to late. It must simply be said that this claim is unjustifiable, as is the methodology by which Janko arrives at it. We shall see that the amount of math employed in bolstering the argument for the progression described is in direct proportion to its dubiousness.

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<sup>100</sup> *HHH* pp. 58-62. In fact the history of the morph is not at all controversial, nor is its deployment in Homer at all unsettling; Janko is simply incorrect in his assessment. The facts for Hesiod do present some complications in that there are attested accusative plurals with light scansion, but the only controversy for (relative) chronology arises from Janko's notion that the entire epic tradition developed toward a greater frequency of these forms. The evidence does not support this idea.

<sup>101</sup> Edwards (1971) pp. 141-165. His treatment owes much to the work of Morpurgo-Davies (1964).

There is no question that Hesiod shows light accusative plurals in -  
ᾶς.<sup>102</sup> Edwards proposes that this is only part of the picture, however. He  
suggests three pieces of evidence:<sup>103</sup>

(a) the presence of nine  $\bar{a}$ -stem acc. plurals which must be scanned as  
light syllables in -ᾶς (plus the single o-stem example in -ος from the  
*Shield*);<sup>104</sup>

(b) the very small proportion (*Th.* 13.0%, *Op.* 7.1%) of  $\bar{a}$ -stem acc.  
plurals occurring as heavy syllables before a vowel, as compared both  
with Hesiod's use of other -V: C<sup>105</sup> endings and with Homer's use of -  
ας acc. plurals;

(c) the small proportion (*Th.* 18.5%, *Op.* 15.8%) of o-stem acc. plurals  
occurring as heavy syllables before a vowel, similarly compared.

The facts described in (b) and (c) present certain problems of interpretation,  
which Edwards wrestles with. The problem with the "evidence" of (b) and (c)  
derives from the fact that examples before a consonant are completely  
ambiguous in terms of their prosody. To call them "short," as Janko more or

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<sup>102</sup> κούρας *Th* 60, Ἀρπυίας *Th* 267, μεταναιέτας *Th* 401, βουλὰς *Th* 534, 653, τροπὰς *Erga* 564, 663, δεινὰς *Erga* 675. *Aspis* 302 ὠκύποδας λαγὸς ἦρευν# may provide the lone evidence for a light -ος acc. pl. in Hesiod, but the form is completely isolated, and most MSS give λαγούς or λαγῶς against the meter. Edwards doubts that λαγὸς indicates that the singer of the *Aspis* regarded the o-stem accusative plurals as short, preferring alternative explanations: "either it is a genuine dialect form used earlier by another poet and borrowed by the author of *Sc.*, or it is an analogical form..., or something has gone wrong with the text at this point, e.g. a dual has been replaced by a plural." Edwards (1971) p. 165.

<sup>103</sup> Edwards (1971) p. 160.

<sup>104</sup> This count includes εἴρας ἐς ἀθανάτων *Th* 804, which is Hermann's emendation of mss. εἰρέας ἀθανάτων; Heyne read εἴρας (without a prep.), and Ruhnken proposed εἰραις. West prints the mss. reading but daggers the passage.

<sup>105</sup> V: stands for any long vowel.

less does,<sup>106</sup> badly misrepresents the situation. Indeed, Edwards repeatedly emphasizes that the facts in Homer do not reflect the presence of the accusative with short scansion. Upon comparison of the deployment of sequences of  $-\omega\nu$ ,  $-\eta\varsigma$ , and  $-\eta\nu$  (i.e. other sequences of long vowel plus consonant) Edwards proposes that “Homer, unlike Hesiod, used the acc. plurals of  $\bar{a}$  - and  $o$ -stems in the same way as other words ending in  $-V: C$ , since both the percentages and the proportional figures, with one exception, are closely similar to those for  $-\omega\nu$ ,  $-\eta\varsigma$ , and  $-\eta\nu$  in Hesiod.”<sup>107</sup> Janko argues instead that at about the time of the *Iliad*, epic diction was just beginning to admit these short forms, evidenced by a higher proportion of  $\bar{a}$  - and  $o$ -stem accusative plurals which appear before consonants, and thus “mask” their quantity.<sup>108</sup> Such is the heart of the controversy, namely that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* (or at least the latter) are also involved in a trend toward the generalization of the light accusative plural ending to both pre-vocalic and pre-consonantal position. There is no external evidence for such a shift in Ionic.

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<sup>106</sup> *HHH* p. 59. “Edwards’ discovery that Hesiod avoided putting these accusatives before vowels, where they had to be scanned heavy...: the result in *Dem* is a signal vindication of his approach, and the short endings are associated with low results in *Cat* and *Herm*...”

<sup>107</sup> Edwards (1971) p. 158.

<sup>108</sup> For these accusatives, Janko does not attempt to project back to 100% archaism on his common scale as he does with all other features. (see section IV above) To do so for these figures would be an absurdity, since the endings, originally heavy syllables, were distributed freely before vowels and consonants- any apparent distribution reflecting only the frequency of consonant initial versus vowel initial words in Greek. At no point were all accusative plurals found before vowels. If we employed Janko’s methodology, we would extrapolate that at -5.2 and -9.6 units on the common scale, all  $\bar{a}$ - and  $o$ -stem accusative plurals, respectively, appeared before vowels, and conversely ceased to appear before vowels at around 4.6 units. Janko does not endorse the projection back, but we will see that his tests proving the statistical significance of certain findings depend crucially on this method of projecting forward to an “expected value” to test against an observed value.

Hesiod's usage differs strikingly from Homer's. As indicated above, his poems show several forms with light endings. A number of these have obvious parallels elsewhere in the epic corpus which help explain their presence in Hesiod. For example, the line end *μετὰ τροπὰς ἡελίοιο* found at *Erga* 564 and 663, clearly parallels the Homeric line end *ὅθι τροπαὶ ἡελίοιο* (*o* 404); *Erga* 675 *Νότοιο τέ δεινὰς ἀήτας*# parallels *O* 626 *ἀνέμοιο δὲ δεινὸς ἀήτης*; and *Th* 60 *ἐννέα κούρας ὁμόφρονας* may correspond to *Herm* 195 *τέσσαρες... φῶτες ὁμόφρονες*. Even with traditional models providing some context for the deployment and scansion of the short endings, however, we do not know how the forms came to be considered licit, nor how widespread the use of the short forms was among the regions which practiced hexameter singing. We do not know whether or not the short forms were a part of Hesiod's dialect or whether he knew the forms from other mainland poetry, perhaps.<sup>109</sup> The difference in deployment of accusatives before consonants is intriguing, but ultimately the evidence is ambiguous. Before a consonant, the underlying length of a closed syllable is unknowable from a text (and to some extent in performance).<sup>110</sup> It is indeed striking that the *Erga* shows only 2 of 28 *ā*-stem accusative plurals scanning long before a vowel, or 7.1% (11.8% if examples at line end are excluded, as Janko, rightly, does), while the percentages of other prevocalic –V:C sequences are 28.7%, 28.1% and 32.7%

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<sup>109</sup> The short forms are not a feature of later Boeotian (we lack evidence for the Boeotian of Hesiod's day). The short vowel forms are attested for Arcadian, Thessalian, and some West Greek dialects. Buck (1968) p 68 § 78.

<sup>110</sup> Indeed, the short endings result from the generalization of the preconsonantal variant –ος or –ας which maintained heavy syllabic weight for –οϝς or –αϝς. The prevocalic variation is still operative in early Cretan. –οϝς and –αϝς developed into the generalized long endings in most dialects through compensatory lengthening, but –οις and –αις in Lesb. and Thes.

(for  $-\omega\nu$ ,  $-\eta\varsigma$ , and  $-\eta\nu$ , respectively).<sup>111</sup> Without the attested short forms we would have no reason to suspect anything so suspicious as self-conscious “masking” of the underlying quantity of the accusative ending.

The source of the short endings in Hesiod, whether from a living dialect or merely through some sort of generalization or imitation of the  $-\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma$  acc. pl. of the consonant stems,<sup>112</sup> does not affect this discussion. For the purposes of chronology we must examine the implication of these forms for the concept of a unified oral tradition underpinning all of Greek epos. The table below lists the percentages of the prevocalic  $\sigma$ - and  $\tilde{a}$ -stem accusative plurals for Homer and Hesiod:

Table 3: Secure heavy  $\sigma$ - and  $\tilde{a}$ -stem accusative plurals

Work	%+V $\sigma$ -stems	%+V $\tilde{a}$ -stems
<i>Iliad</i>	41.5	47.0
<i>Odyssey</i>	38.1	42.1
<i>Theogony</i>	23.5	16.7
<i>Erga</i>	18.7	11.8
<i>Cat</i>	16.1	31.6
<i>Dem</i>	40	6.3

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<sup>111</sup> The percentage of prevocalic  $\sigma$ -stems is also fairly low in *Erga* (18.7%). It is not completely clear that this is truly anomalous, however. *Iliad* A, Γ, and Δ as well as *Odyssey* ζ and χ also show percentages for prevocalic  $\sigma$ -stem accusative plurals around 20%. For the  $\tilde{a}$ -stems, *Odyssey* α shows the lowest percentage +V for the  $\tilde{a}$ -stems at 14.3% (cf. *Th.* 16.7%), and several books in Homer show percentages at or below 25%, compared to the average of around 45%.

<sup>112</sup> Edwards prefers the latter to an actual dialect source: “The complete absence of short  $\sigma$ -stem forms from *Th.* and *Op.* must then be explained as due to the strength of the tradition in which  $-\sigma\upsilon\varsigma$  could never be short, while the introduction of the  $-\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma$  forms was facilitated by the presence in earlier poetry of acc. plurals in  $-\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma$  from i-, u-, and consonant-stems.” (1971) p. 165. cf. von Blumenthal (1942) p. 103f.

Janko notes that we again “see a shift from the *Iliad* to *Odyssey*, and thence a big drop to Hesiod.... Even excluding the short endings from the totals, Edwards’ discovery that Hesiod avoided putting these accusatives before vowels, where they had to be scanned heavy is upheld: the result in *Dem* is a signal vindication of his approach, and the short endings are associated with low results in *Cat* and *Herm*...”<sup>113</sup>

His triumphalism regarding *Dem* is puzzling. Indeed, 15 of 16 *ā*-stem accusative plurals occur before consonants,<sup>114</sup> but the hymn shows not a single secure example of a short *-āç* ending;<sup>115</sup> also the *o*-stems, though only showing 5 total accusative plurals, show 2 secure heavy endings, or 40%. As mentioned above, the suspect nature of the claims regarding the presence of short accusatives in Homer and the hymns, steadily increasing diachronically, require statistical evidence to bolster the case. The methodology employed for this feature is commensurate with that used elsewhere, though somewhat fuller. It therefore provides a good vehicle for exploring the soundness of Janko’s statistical arguments for diachronic development.

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<sup>113</sup> *HHH* p. 59.

<sup>114</sup> Thus 1 secure heavy *-āç* ending occurs in 495 lines. *Iliad* Δ shows 1 secure heavy *-āç* ending in 544 lines, beside 4 endings +C, for 20% +V. Though the percentage (of long to ambiguous; NB: *not* archaic to innovative!) is less lopsided, this signal vindication rings a bit hollow.

<sup>115</sup> The fact that the short endings are unattested outside of Hesiod (possibly 1x *Herm*) does not by itself preclude that the short endings were a part of epic diction – if the effects of the short endings can be convincingly demonstrated. We may compare the situation of digamma, which appears nowhere in our text, but whose force in shaping epic diction is supported by an overwhelming amount of evidence. The prosodic anomalies of regular hiatus and *brevi in longo* before words with etymological *ƒ* provide a thoroughly convincing case without direct attestation. The ambiguous examples invoked to support the case for “hidden” short accusatives in Homer do not inspire such confidence.

Janko offers the following note regarding the tests for statistical randomness:<sup>116</sup>

The testing of the two endings [sc.  $-\text{ov}\varsigma$  and  $-\alpha\varsigma$  ] against one another is vitiated by the empirical fact that in Homer the o-stems tend to be ahead of the a-stems by approximately 5% each time, while in Hesiod this is reversed. The solution is to test for the result expected at the level of the cluster,... but this can apply only to *Cat* and *Dem*.

According to the cluster, *Dem*'s o-stem result ought to be 12.7% +V: by the binomial theorem, the odds on obtaining 2/5 +V are then 0.106, i.e. just over 10%, so this result is not significant. By the same method, the expected o-stem result in *Cat* is 24.7% +V, and the observed 16.1 yields a value for z of 1.3, which is not significant. Likewise the a-stems' hypothetical value is 18.9% +V, which yields z=1.4 when matched against the observed 6/19 +V. Again the odds hover around one in ten. But the o-stem result is no random fluctuation from a Homeric level of, say, 40%+V: this yields z=3.6, highly significant. In *Herm*, assuming that the larger population (the o-stems) is closer to the true level, we expect that a-stems to be 4% above, on the analogy of the *Odyssey*, to whose level the o-stem result approximates: thus the expected result for the a-stems is significant at 10% but not 5%.

This passage is obviously extremely dense, and I shall do my best to untangle it with a minimum of extraneous material. First, the *o*- and  $\bar{a}$ -stems show a different relationship in Homer than in Hesiod; in the former, the guaranteed heavy  $-\bar{\alpha}\varsigma$  endings show a higher frequency than the guaranteed  $-\text{ov}\varsigma$  forms, while the opposite is true in Hesiod.<sup>117</sup> When Janko proposes to test "at the

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<sup>116</sup> *HHH* p. 244 n.40.

<sup>117</sup> This can be seen in the table above and may be due to the fact that Hesiod's language may well be influenced by the short endings (beyond simply the guaranteed examples) while Homer's was not; the  $\bar{a}$ -stems may have been more susceptible to replacement by short endings in epic because of consonant stems and perhaps even reinforced by "a highly complex situation in which a speaker of a mainland Greek dialect is consciously using an artificial but predominantly Ionic dialect for composition of hexameter poetry." Edwards (1971) p. 162. Precisely this latter argument is invoked to explain the relatively high rate of



level of the cluster” he refers to the clusters established on his common scale.<sup>118</sup> All measures for *Iliad* and *Theogony* are set at points zero and 3, respectively, and based on the percentages from these two poems, the point on the scale of a particular feature in another poem is determined.<sup>119</sup> Janko determines that *Dem* clusters in its features at 4.68 on the scale based on five features.<sup>120</sup> And thus he predicts that the expected frequency of a secure long *o*-stem accusative plural (i.e. before a vowel) for a piece of oral hexameter poetry a 4.68 units should be 12.7%.<sup>121</sup> At such an expected value, as he states, there is a 10.7% chance of getting 2/5+V. Though 40% appears quite different from 12.7%, the sample size (5) is very small; three or more examples of +V would be significant (defined as having less than 5% likelihood).<sup>122</sup> At this point Janko’s methodology becomes slightly opaque, since he switches from a binomial sampling distribution to a normal continuous distribution (i.e. the

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neglect of digamma by Hesiod, a Boeotian poet (if the internal biographical details are to be taken seriously) whose dialect still preserved the sound; cf. Meister (1966) p. 199.

<sup>118</sup> V. sup. p. 27.

<sup>119</sup> The scale, and its excesses are treated again in Chapter VI. For the *ā*-stem accusative for example, the *Iliad* shows 47%+V, *Th* 16.7%+V; the difference of 30.3 percentage points is thus equivalent to three units on the common scale for this feature. Since *Dem* shows 6.3%+V, it is 40.7 percentage points ahead of the value in the *Iliad*; we thus use the proportion 30.3 percentage points is to 3 common scale units as 40.7 percentage points is to x common scale units,  $x=4.0$ . This feature is thus set at 4 units on the common scale for *Dem*; when all the other features tested are similarly treated, those which appear to cluster around a certain point on the scale are then averaged to determine the overall cluster for the poem. It is this overall cluster to which Janko refers when he indicates a test “at the level of the cluster.” The process just described is essentially reversed to project what percentage one could expect if the song were to deploy a feature, say the *o*-stem accusative plural, at the level predicted by the overall cluster. I can find no explanation for why “this can apply only to *Cat* and *Dem*.”

<sup>120</sup> There are thus also five outliers, including the *o*-stem acc. pl. which is omitted since it is based on only 5 forms.

<sup>121</sup> Janko here does not so much fudge the numbers as nudge them (or make an honest (minor) mistake). A rate of 12.7% correlates with a cluster at 4.8, not 4.68 as he prints (p. 81) or 4.6 (p. 223). The latter clusters predict a value of 13.9% and 13.4% respectively.

<sup>122</sup> In fact, the 40% result is even slightly less unlikely with a predicted value of 13.9% or 13.4% (12.3% chance and 11.7% chance).

invocation of “z”). Regardless, there is an 18.6% chance of obtaining 5/26 +V if there is an expected (i.e. “projected”) value of 24.7%;<sup>123</sup> again, the observed results fall within the acceptable limits of random variation.

Janko is concerned that the likelihood that *Cat*’s observed value for the *o*-stems is very unlikely to be within the range of Homer’s average of about 40% +V.<sup>124</sup> That Homeric and Hesiodic practices do rather starkly diverge here, however, highlights the central problem of Janko’s statistical attempt to elicit chronology from the distributions of various features in Homer, Hesiod and the hymns. Without the assumption of a unified tradition developing in lockstep everywhere, *and* the assumption that the *Iliad* and *Theogony* are reliable avatars of the whole tradition at their respective moments of composition, the “expected values” used to compute statistical reliability are meaningless. The “expected values” are derived from the projections on the common scale which posits that whatever values appears for the *Iliad* and *Theogony*, the difference between those values determines the rate at which epic diction is developing everywhere. If the two poems are fundamentally different in some respects, though, as appears to be the case for the “short” accusative plurals, then chronology has nothing to do with the distributions and therefore the projected values are not “expected values” at all, but in a very real sense, pure numerology. We saw above that Janko chooses not to project the “short” accusative back to 100% archaism as he does for all other features, since the idea of 100% archaism as the feature is presented (i.e. 100%

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<sup>123</sup> Again, Janko’s numbers do not exactly add up: a cluster at 2.6 (p. 223) predicts an expected value for the frequency of *o*-stem accusative plurals at 25.9%. The observed result is still well above the threshold for significance.

<sup>124</sup> The likelihood that 5/31 could be an observed value for an expected 40% is about 0.4%; yes, this is highly unlikely, but I fail to see why we should expect *Cat*’s value to be that of Homer. Its cluster, at about 2.6, is closer to *Th* (3) than the *Odyssey* (0.6).

of the accusative plurals guaranteed long before a vowel) is absurd;<sup>125</sup> no less absurd is the reverse, which in fact predicts 100% innovation at 4.6 units on the common scale.<sup>126</sup> *Herm*, which most scholars agree is a late hymn (but with no defined cluster by Janko's reckoning), shows a rate of 23.8%+V, i.e. more than Hesiod. Clearly, the long syllable of the *o*- and *ā*-stem accusative plural did not disappear from epic singing any more than it disappeared from colloquial speech.

Finally, the treatment of the relationship of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in relation to these supposed short accusative plurals reveals a certain selectivity with the facts on Janko's part. He notes a "shift in the direction of Hesiod's practice" of about 3.4% in the *o*-stems and 4.9% in the *a*-stems. From this he derives the following sweeping statement:

There is only one possible interpretation of this movement- that even in the Ionic branch of the tradition these accusative plurals came to be regarded as short. An absolute choice must have been taken one way or the other, and we can explain the *Odyssey's* position by the large number of older formulae with long endings that it retained.<sup>127</sup>

This is disconcerting. First, the acknowledgement of an Ionic branch of the epic tradition distinct from a mainland branch invalidates the method of projecting an "expected value" for determining statistical significance. Janko fails to recognize that the difference between the two Homeric epics for the *o*-

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<sup>125</sup> V. sup. p.56, n.107

<sup>126</sup> Ironically, this is the cluster defined for *Dem* which approximates a total absence of guaranteed long *a*-stem accusative plurals. This is the "signal vindication" mentioned above.

<sup>127</sup> *HHH* p. 61. Janko goes on to suggest that some pocket of late 8<sup>th</sup> century Ionic may have generalized the short preconsonantal form, only to have the long form re-imposed from a neighboring region. Not only is there no external evidence for this, but the Homeric evidence is not statistically significant! This scenario goes against the far more likely reality that the farther back in time one moves, the less likely any dialect is to have generalized either variant, instead retaining the preconsonantal/prevocalic distribution.

and  $\bar{a}$ -stem accusative plurals is *not statistically significant*. There is an 11.7% chance that the observed value of the *Odyssey* reflects the expected value for the two epics,<sup>128</sup> and even a 9% chance that the observed value of the *Odyssey* could represent a value identical to that in the *Iliad*.<sup>129</sup> The “only possible explanation” need not be the revelation that some lost pocket of Ionia generalized the preconsonantal variant of the accusative plural  $o$ - and  $\bar{a}$ -stems (and managed to affect the diction of Homer), but rather the explanation must make room for the far more mundane possibility that the apparent movement, at least statistically, is an illusion.

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<sup>128</sup> To clarify, the “expected value” here does not refer to anything from the common scale; rather, the percentage of +V accusative plurals ( $o$ - and  $\bar{a}$ -stems taken together) for all of Homer is taken to be the expected value. The figures for just the *Odyssey* are then tested against this mean. They depart from this mean by a statistically *insignificant* margin.

<sup>129</sup> The overall value for the %+V for Homer (including both  $o$ - and  $\bar{a}$ -stems) is 41.99%; the observed value of 39.68%+V for the *Odyssey* does not show a statistically significant departure from this overall Homeric value

## CHAPTER V: CONCLUSIONS

A literate Homer was once a dogma that was shattered by the insight of oral composition. The rich traces from the pre-history of the songs of Homer, Hesiod and the hymns provide us with tantalizing clues about the origins and development of these songs over time. This certainly incomplete knowledge is supplemented by the fragments and testimonia regarding the veritable sea of epic poetry which was, we are told, even written down- to say nothing of the unspeakable wealth of songs (and variant versions of songs) which were never committed to writing. Even with the still large store of verses which have come down to our time, we cannot fool ourselves into believing that we have even most of the epic tradition: we are in the realm of unknown unknowns.

Naturally, fixed dates would be of some help in navigating the received text, spotting interpolations, forming opinions about the viability of variants, etc. As we have seen, however, the chronology of the epics is fraught with difficulties. The usual literary benchmarks, *exemplum* and *imitatio*, do not obtain for oral poetry, at least not in the same linear fashion of a “closed” textual tradition. We know that the poets influenced one another; we know their language changed over time, while the formulaic nature of long-form oral epic helped to preserve old and obsolete material for generations. This desire for dates, coupled with the recognition of the evolving vicissitudes of the epos, provided the impetus to attempt a chronology based on a constant rate of linguistic change. Certainly Richard Janko’s is not the first attempt to apply a statistical model to Greek poetry, especially Homer, but it clearly ranks among the most ambitious and creative.

As we have seen, however, this model, indeed clever in many ways, is predicated on numerous assumptions which in the aggregate make the method extremely unlikely to reflect chronology. His method requires:

- 1) A unified epic tradition, whose language developed in one direction more or less in sync everywhere hexameter singing was practiced;
- 2) A constant rate of linguistic change;
- 3) An epic language which tracked changes in the Ionic vernacular;<sup>130</sup>
- 4) Punctual, definitive textualizations of oral poems which provide an accurate snapshot of the oral tradition at the moment of textualization; also, these textualizations must be reflected in our received texts;
- 5) An equivalence of linguistic and “traditional” archaisms.<sup>131</sup>

Other assumptions regarding specific linguistic features also affect the reliability of the method; these assumptions generally fall into these five categories. While it is not impossible that the actual chronology, if it were known, would correspond closely to that proposed by Janko, his method does not succeed in establishing a diagnostic connection between the distributions of features (which do show an interesting pattern) and (relative) chronology. As Martin Peters once remarked on *Homer, Hesiod, and the hymns*: “[s]o kann man nur bedauern, dass in diesem gewiss anregenden und geistreichen Buch soviel Fleiss und Scharfsinn letztlich allein darauf verwandt wurde, hübsch möblierte Luftschlösser auf Sand zu errichten.”<sup>132</sup>

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<sup>130</sup> We have seen that this is indeed problematic: Hesiod’s short accusative plural a-stems are meant to come from the (his?) vernacular, but his deployment of digamma certainly does not reflect Boeotian speech.

<sup>131</sup> See above pp. 28ff. Chapter VI addresses a specific and pervasive aspect of this requirement, an Aeolic phase in epic diction.

<sup>132</sup> Peters (1984) p. 109.

## PART II: AN AEOLIC PHASE OF EPIC DICTION?

### CHAPTER VI: THE DIALECT OF THE EPOS

#### Section 1: The mixed dialect of epic

The dialect of the epics mixes archaic forms with innovations; it likewise mixes Ionic forms with forms showing Aeolic phonology and morphology. Linguistic archaisms by definition precede innovations, and a comparatively high concentration of innovative forms is generally taken to indicate a later work or passage.<sup>133</sup> Still, the presence of any linguistic innovation indicates that a passage could only have been composed *after* that innovation had occurred.<sup>134</sup> For example, a (metrically guaranteed) “neglect” of digamma could not reasonably have entered epic language until initial [w-] had been lost in some relevant dialect.<sup>135</sup> Clearly, however, the effects of digamma persisted in epic singing well after the sound itself had disappeared,

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<sup>133</sup> It is important to note, however, that specific examples of apparent archaisms in the epics do not indicate that the passages containing them entered the tradition at an early date. Epic recycled formulaic language and created new diction on intra-epic analogy. Thus, we often cannot insist on a correlation between archaic language and an archaic passage or poem. This, of course, is the fundamental problem of any dating based on archaisms.

<sup>134</sup> The epic language was capable of producing forms and paradigms which never existed outside of epic as well. Such well-documented phenomena as metrical lengthening provided for a certain amount of flexibility and artificiality, but the tendency was toward using actual vernacular forms on the whole. cf. Hackstein (2002), esp. pp. 23-34, whose treatment of epic both employs the language of Homer to make inferences regarding the development of Ionic and employs a concept of “*isolative Anachronismus*.” These essentially linguistic “dead-ends” could be explained as isolated colloquial innovations which failed to spread or as intra-epic creations. The interaction of the vernacular and the *Kunstsprache* will be a primary concern of this discussion as it relates to arguments for relative chronology.

<sup>135</sup> The digamma in Hesiod presents problems if we take seriously the biographical indications that he was a Boeotian; his poetry neglects initial digamma more than Homer, though the Boeotian dialect retained the sound well into the classical period and beyond.

and thus, again, a given apparent “observance” of digamma, say, need not have entered the text before the loss of the sound in colloquial speech.<sup>136</sup>

In addition to the diachronic depth of the hexameter tradition suggested by the deployment of certain archaisms in the epics, the presence of Aeolisms in the dialect mixture of so-called “epic Ionic” raises interesting questions about the origins and development of the Greek epic tradition. While some features once considered Aeolic have proven to be merely archaisms, epic language features a number of elements generally agreed to be specifically Aeolic on the basis of inscriptional and literary evidence. A non-exhaustive list of some of the more frequent Aeolic elements in epic includes:<sup>137</sup>

- the labial treatment of labio-velars before front vowels, e.g. πίσυρες.
- gemination of liquids and nasals in certain consonant clusters instead of compensatory lengthening as in other dialects, e.g. -μμ-, -νν-, -λλ-, -ρρ- (Thessalian and Lesbian), e.g. Φαεννός.
- athematic infinitives in -μεναι (Lesbian), e.g. ἔμμεναι.
- thematic infinitives in -μεν (Thessalian and Boeotian), e.g. ἀγορευέμεν.
- the maintenance of -τι, e.g. ποτί<sup>138</sup>
- the development of -ρι- to -ρε-<sup>139</sup>
- perfect participles inflected in -ντ-, e.g. κεκλήγοντες<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> That is to say, digamma is both a productive and moribund feature of epic. On the one hand, it is an important part of the *Kunstsprache*, licensing hiatus at certain metrical positions even beyond legitimate historically w- initial words, but it has been lost from the Ionian vernacular by the time of the fixation of the epics, so that the poets increasingly create new phraseology which neglects the effects of digamma.

<sup>137</sup> This list derives in large part from the assessments of Horrocks (1987) p. 270, Haug (2002) p. 71, and Wathélet (1970) p. 258.

<sup>138</sup> There is no evidence that \*ποσί ever took hold in Ionic as an alternative to generalized πρός. The form may have undergone constant restoration as seems to have happened to the also disyllabic ἔτι “still.”

<sup>139</sup> Bechtel (1921) I.§18, p. 26. cf. Thumb-Scherer (1932) II. §245, 3a. and II.§255, 4a. cf. especially Wackernagel (1916) p. 68. It seems that within epic this lowering of ι>ε extended beyond sequences of -ρι-, given forms such as Ἀγαμεινονέη and κυνέος in place of -ιος in “genetival” adjectives as a whole. To the extent that the orthography can be trusted, this appears to be an intra-epic analogy.



- θεά as feminine of θεός<sup>141</sup>
- dative plurals of consonant stems in -εσσι, e.g. πόδεσσι

Of these, the -εσσι dative is clearly productive beyond its original distribution, as witnessed in the frequent dative plural ἐπέεσσι. Indeed, this epic creation is the dominant form in Homer.<sup>142</sup> Certain other features which may in fact be archaisms, or at least represent archaisms, include the genitive singular of the masculine ā-stems, e.g. Ἀτρειῆδο, etc., and the genitive plural of the ā-stems of both genders, e.g. θεάων. These are rightly excluded from the above list since the endings in long alpha are not specific to the Aeolic dialects. I will suggest below, however, that their presence in the epics is owed to an Aeolic epic tradition, though not because of a diachronically anterior phase of development as has been suggested. The non-Ionic variant would have been perceived synchronically as a dialectal variant rather than an archaism. Similarly, the well known -οιο genitive shows a prosodically archaic metrical shape, but the presence and frequency of the morph in epic goes beyond the question of dialect mixture as we shall see below.

## Section 2: Alternative explanations for the mixed dialect

Aeolic forms found embedded within epic language pose a distinct problem for the definition of “archaism” for the epic language. While there

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<sup>140</sup> We find also μεμαῶτος which perhaps indirectly reflects \*μεμάοντος. The tradition likewise shows forms such as πεπλήγων, which are not metrically guaranteed, but hard to justify without Aeolic influence, Haug (2002) 71 cf. Chantraine *GHI*, pp. 430-1.

<sup>141</sup> Haug (2002), pp. 70-1, cf. Wathelet (1970), p. 366. Regarding the form θεά, Peters (1993) p. 93 n.27, points out the presence of the form in archaic West Ionic graffiti, and Bartoněk and Buchner (Sprache 37.2 (1995) p. 194.) likewise suggest that the form could be West Ionic. Phonologically, θεά should still be a loan word into West Ionic, presumably from a neighboring Aeolic source, but if θεά was a part of an Ionians vernacular dialect, examples of the form in epic require no recourse to an Aeolic singing tradition.

<sup>142</sup> cf. Wathelet (1970), p.258; Haug (2002), p. 71.

was a time when virtually any form which did not match the Ionic of Herodotus was ascribed to Aeolic, the decipherment of Linear B revealed that many of the supposed Aeolisms were simply archaisms which would have been available to a number of Greek dialects (or even all of them), including very early Ionic. In the late nineteenth century, an idea took hold that the works of Homer as we have them are in fact translations into Ionic of an Aeolic original, perhaps even a textual archetype, which retained Aeolic forms in those places where our Ionian Homer had no metrically equivalent replacement. Gustav Hinrichs, in his 1875 *De Homericae elocutionis vestigiis Aeolicis*, proclaimed that "*fontem Aeolicorum vestigiorum nullam aliam rem aperire quam historiam poesis epicae.*"<sup>143</sup> This idea was developed almost ad absurdum by Fick, who produced a volume of Homer "in der ursprünglichen sprachform wiederhergestellt,"<sup>144</sup> which is to say, translated ("back," in Fick's view) into Aeolic. The work goes so far as to distill the supposed core narrative from the *Iliad*, and it segregates out those portions which, by their recalcitrance to *Wiederherstellung*, are revealed to be later additions to the poem. What the work in fact accomplishes is to show that such an exercise is futile. The language of the epics is a *mélange* such that this kind of analysis inflicts irreparable harm upon the epics themselves.

The kernel of Hinrichs's idea, however, that an Aeolic phase of epic poetry preceded the Ionic version which has come down to us, still enjoys wide acceptance by many prominent scholars. This question of the development of epic diction through dialectal phases is important for relative

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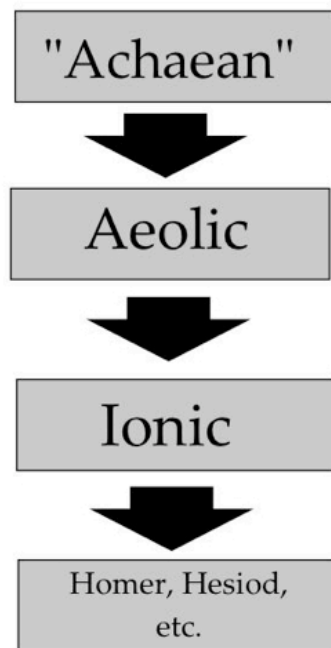
<sup>143</sup> "the source of the Aeolic traces reveals none other than the history of epic poetry." Hinrichs (1875) p 166.

<sup>144</sup> Fick, A. (1886) The rather unwieldy title, *Die Homerische Ilias nach ihrer entstehung betrachtet und in der ursprünglichen sprachform wiederhergestellt*, sums up the project well.

chronology in epic. Aeolisms are effectively archaisms *within epic diction* if the epic language passed through an Aeolic phase. Specifically Ionic phraseology is tantamount to a kind of innovation if the tradition as a whole only came to Ionian bards at a late date. A given morphological category might show metrically distinct variants in Ionic and Aeolic which were each current in their respective dialects, and thus not archaisms or innovations in any diachronic sense, but an Aeolism in the Ionic hexameter tradition would count as an archaism under the proposed phase schema, since it would have been retained from a time preceding the transfer of the tradition to Ionian singers.

Scholars have also argued for a continuous Ionic tradition spanning the Bronze age to the Archaic period directly, without a discontinuity implied by an Aeolic phase. The epics were “Ionian” as far back as it makes sense to use such a term, and they admitted phraseology from the neighboring Aeolic dialects through language contact over centuries, perhaps with an Aeolic epic tradition or simply with the colloquial speech; under this “diffusion” model, Aeolisms could have entered the Ionic tradition at virtually any time during the development of the tradition. Thus, Aeolisms in themselves are not indicative of chronology without the presumption of an Aeolic phase. Figure 2 gives a simplified graphic depiction of the competing models. The diachronic dimension is oriented from earlier at the top to later at the bottom.

Stacked/"Phase" model



"Diffusion" model

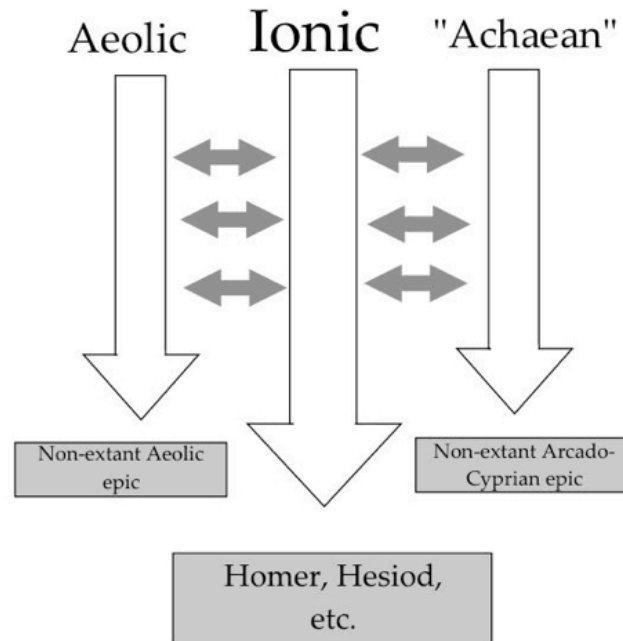


Figure 3: The phase/"stacked" model versus the "diffusion" model

Each model can count distinguished scholars among its supporters;<sup>145</sup> the epics contain some specifically Aeolic forms which cannot, pace Strunk,<sup>146</sup> be pushed back into Mycenaean times or otherwise explained away. We have above a number of Aeolic features which point quite clearly to epic poetry

<sup>145</sup> Some of the most prominent and explicit advocates for an Aeolic phase in the history of epic diction include R. Janko, M.L. West, C. Ruijgh, P. Wathlet, K. Meister, M. Parry, L. R. Palmer, A. Hoekstra, and D. Haug. Many others implicitly adhere to the model, including Chantraine who frequently explains forms from the standpoint of the "earlier" phase of the epic. The most evenhanded, in my view, treatment of the issue is that of Horrocks (1987 and 1997) who ultimately sides with the diffusionists, though not without reservations; Wyatt's view (1992) is more extreme, denying the existence of any Aeolic epic poetry and attributing the Aeolisms to colloquial language contact. Others who have explicitly argued against the phase model include D. G. Miller, J. Hooker, K. Strunk, T. Webster, J. Mendez-Dosuna (briefly), and M. Peters.

<sup>146</sup> Strunk, K. (1957). For recent critique of Strunk's thesis, cf. Haug (2002) pp. 71-2.

sung in Aeolic from which the Ionian tradition, witnessed primarily in Homer, Hesiod and the homeric Hymns, borrowed— either in a punctual moment of transfer or over a long period of diffusion. Naturally, given the contiguity of Aeolis and Ionia, and especially with the northward expansion of the Ionians, linguistic contact is assured. Aeolisms in the epic, though, do not necessarily point to a previous phase. Hooker succinctly takes such a position: “I do not recognize two successive stages in the evolution of the epic, an Aeolic followed by an Ionic; I think, rather, of a long period of growth in which two bodies of narrative verse, an Ionic and an Aeolic, co-existed in neighboring areas of Asia Minor and influenced each other linguistically and in other ways.”<sup>147</sup> Horrocks expresses a similar opinion somewhat less dogmatically:

There is no reason to suppose that all the Aeolic forms in the epic dialect came from the Aeolian tradition during the period in which it was first Ionicised, even if one accepts that there was an Aeolic phase. The real issue is whether or not there is evidence of a break in the Ionian tradition, a point at which, going back in history and reconstructing where necessary, characteristic Ionic phenomena peter out leaving a gap between the earliest recoverable Ionic forms and their known or reconstructed Bronze age antecedents. If there is no evidence for such a gap, there is no room for an Aeolic phase, and the diffusion theory must be adopted to explain the full set of Homeric Aeolisms.<sup>148</sup>

Indeed, a direct line of transmission from the Bronze Age to generations of Ionian bards, and ultimately to a “Homer,” is the most economical model of development.<sup>149</sup>

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<sup>147</sup> Hooker (1977), p. 75.

<sup>148</sup> Horrocks (1987), p. 273.

<sup>149</sup> Defending the Aeolic phase, and rebuffing critics, such as Wyatt and Webster who attempt to downplay or refute Aeolisms in Homer, Janko notes that the “hostility to Aeolisms arises

A pattern of diffusion is paralleled in the South Slavic epics, which remain the closest comparandum for the Greek tradition. About the mixed dialect of the epic register, John Miles Foley notes:

South Slavic singers use both *ijekavski* (chiefly Bosnian and Croatian) and *ekavski* (chiefly Serbian) forms, not seldom in the very same line....[A]lthough native speakers normally use only the forms appropriate to their particular geographical context in most registers, South Slavic singers customarily and systematically have recourse to forms and syntactic features from both dialects when they code-switch to the traditional performance idiom.<sup>150</sup>

Though we can never superimpose the habits of one oral tradition onto another, the parallel with the Greek tradition is very suggestive; we see concurrent local traditions which share traditional phraseology from different

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from a preference for the neater theory that the epos was brought straight to Ionia from Attica and the Peloponnese, thus descending directly from major southern centres of Mycenaean civilisation: the Aeolic forms are attributed to passing exchanges with a parallel epic tradition." *HHH*, p. 89.

<sup>150</sup> Foley (1999), pp. 77-8. While epic language is on the whole coincident with colloquial speech, the *guslar*, like the *aoidos*, depends on both words and grammatical forms that are no longer a part of the singers' conversational language, but remain an integral feature of their traditional register. For the guslars, many of these archaisms are Turkicisms which have obsolesced. Morphologically, for example, the aorist is preserved for both metrical and phonological/ phraseological reasons like in-line rhyme. Regarding a mixture of features from distinct dialects, Foley notes that deployment of the variants *dijete/dēte* 'child' depends strictly on the metrical and phraseological environment, e.g. *dijete Halile* 'child Halil', 6 syl. colon versus *A sede mu dēte besjediti* 'But the child began to address him;' "The singer speaks the poetic language fluently by speaking it multidialectally, and according to the rules of the register for fashioning verbal signs." (77) cf. the line (1868.1279) *Ovčijem te zapojila mlēkom* 'She began to nurse you with sheep's milk', showing both dialectal variants deployed in a single line in a concatenation unlikely to exist in conversational speech or any other register of South Slavic. This deployment is a function of competence. "While *ekavski* or *ijekavski* speakers naturally favor their "home" dialect to a large degree, traditional epic phraseology always and everywhere entails a utilitarian mixture of forms, sorted not according to the singer's individual speech habits but rather *metri causa*." (78) Witte (1913) noted that the Aeolic forms in Homer occurred almost exclusively where they provide a metrical alternative to Ionic, an idea developed further by Parry and others.

regions. The exchange is ongoing, rather than punctual.<sup>151</sup> M.L. West admits such a possibility even as he defines what is to date the fullest and most colorful phased account of the development of the epics.<sup>152</sup>

### Section 3: Evidence for a gap in a continuous Ionic tradition

Aeolisms alone cannot substantiate a model of discrete dialectal phases in the development of the epic corpus, as their mere presence could be the result of ongoing contact, i.e. diffusion. Rather, the record must show some anomaly for the “Aeolic Phase” to have something to explain. Without some break in the development of Ionic forms attested in the epics, the proposed phase theory is a solution in search of a problem. The masculine ā-stem genitive singulars and the ā-stem genitive plurals seem to present just such a gap.

The phonological history is straightforward enough. Mycenaean shows evidence for a genitive in *-ā(h)o*, and this seems to be the common Greek ending.<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>151</sup> A colleague of mine who has done field research in the Balkans has told me, only half jokingly given that region’s turbulent recent history, that the singers seem capable of borrowing each others’ songs “even when they’re shooting at one another!”

<sup>152</sup> “It is convenient to speak in schematic terms of the Aeolic phase being ‘succeeded’ by the Ionic. Of course this did not happen overnight. There must have been a period of concurrence. Indeed, we can see that a Lesbian tradition of some sort continued long enough, and in sufficient independence from the Ionian, to develop Priam’s name into Πέριπρος/Πέριπρος, and for these forms to be familiar to Sappho and Alcaeus. On the other hand it is clear that the epic poetry which overran Greece from about 750 was Ionian epic and that it had no serious rival in Lesbian or any other dialect.” West (1988) p. 165.

<sup>153</sup> cf. Myc. *su-qo-ta-o* / *sug<sup>w</sup>ōtāo* / ‘(of the) swineherd’ The nominative singular of the *\*-eh<sub>2</sub>* stems was originally endingless but acquired *-s* after the analogy of the *-o*-stems in most Greek dialects, e.g. Att. *πολίτης*, Dor. *πολιάτᾱς*. Some dialects preserved, or recreated, forms without *-s* in the masc. ā-stem nom. sg., e.g. Boet. *πῦθιονίκα̃*, *Μογέᾱ*, also in North-West Greek. Thus, the original masc. gen sg. *\*-eh<sub>2</sub>(e)s* > *\*-ās* seems to have been replaced by analogy with the thematic stems: *-os*: *\*-osyo* :: *-ā* : *\*-āyo*. *\*-āyo* subsequently developed to *\*-āho*, then *-āo*, with further contractions, QM, or paradigm remodeling according to dialect.

Most dialects simply preserved the ending, often with subsequent contraction, but in Attic-Ionic, long /ā/ underwent fronting/raising to long \*-æ:- which in turn merged with low /ε:/, eventually spelled with <η>, in Ionic.<sup>154</sup> The ending -āo thus developed to \*-ηο, and this sequence in Ionic underwent so-called “quantitative metathesis”<sup>155</sup>(QM), whereby an input of certain long vowels before certain short vowels descriptively produced an output with quantities reversed.<sup>156</sup> There was a related sound change whereby a long vowel shortened before a subsequent long vowel, with restrictions similar to those for QM . Thus for the genitives which were subject to quantitative metathesis we have the following development:

gen. sg. masc. ā-stem -āο > \*-ηο > -εω (nearly always with synizesis in epic)

gen. pl. ā-stem m./f. -άων > \*-ήων > -έων/-ῶν (nearly always with synizesis in epic)

The crux of any argument for an Aeolic phase is the absence of the mid-stage in eta <η>. This would seem to be exactly the break in a continuous Ionic tradition that Horrocks described as the necessary evidence for an Aeolic phase versus diffusion.

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<sup>154</sup> Attic, of course, underwent the famous “Attic Reversion” at the \*-æ:- stage, whereby \*æ: merged with <η> in most environments but “reverted” to /ā/ after ο, ι, and ε.

<sup>155</sup> The term is taken over from the ancient grammarians term ὑπερβιβασμός του χρόνου, e.g. Choeroboscus; cf. Haug (2002) p. 108. As such it is merely a descriptive term derived from the output, rather than a reliable description of the *process*.

<sup>156</sup> The sound change is restricted to sequences of certain vowels. cf. Peters formulation:  $\bar{E}_i(QM) E_j(QM) > E_i(QM) \bar{E}_j(QM)$  where  $\bar{E}_i$  stands for / æ: / / ε:/ or / e:/ and  $E_j$  represents /a/ or /o/. Peters (1980) p. 251, n. 208. cf. Mendez-Dosuna (1993) p. 98., n. 4.



#### Section 4: Janko's treatment of the $\bar{a}$ -stem genitives

If indeed there was any Aeolic phase, it had given way to an Ionic phase before any of the songs of the epos became fixed. A slow transfer of the tradition, perhaps with continued sharing of epic material after "first contact," would be tantamount to diffusion and thus of limited value for arguments regarding relative chronology of archaic hexameter poetry. Only under a "stacked" model do Aeolisms count as archaisms. Janko, however, argues for just such a punctual transfer of the tradition from Aeolian to Ionian bards. Indeed, his definition of "archaism," and thus his method as a whole, depends crucially on the priority of an Aeolic phase of the epic tradition. In *Homer, Hesiod, and the hymns*, Janko claims that his statistical analysis of the songs of the Greek epos provides new evidence for the Aeolic phase of the epic tradition, and even indication of a relative date for the transfer of the tradition to Ionian bards.

Janko's dating of the transfer of the tradition to Ionian singers depends on an extension of the common scale described in Chapter II.<sup>157</sup> Each feature measured by Janko shows some degree of innovation in the *Iliad*, and more in the *Theogony*, which are set at a distance of three units on the common scale. If we assume a constant rate of change,<sup>158</sup> we can theoretically project back to the point on the common scale at which a particular innovation entered the

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<sup>157</sup> See above, pp. 18ff.

<sup>158</sup> This is of course a flawed assumption. While the whole principle of Janko's method is based on glottochronological presuppositions, the fallacy of these presuppositions is cast in starkest relief with the "extended results" of the common scale. Janko's common scale, as well as its extended results are treated above in chapter II, pp. 21ff.

epic language. The proposed developments in the epic language are as follows:<sup>159</sup>

1.  $-\omicron\iota\omicron$  ceases to be the sole  $\bar{o}$ -stem genitive singular ending: -11.0.
2. Contraction in  $*-\bar{o}o$  first appears: -6.7.
3.  $\bar{o}$ - and  $\bar{a}$ -stem dative plurals begin to admit elision: -3.2.
4. Digamma is first neglected: -3.0
5.  $-\alpha\omicron$  ceases to be the sole  $\bar{a}$ -stem masculine genitive singular ending: -1.8.
6. Quantitative metathesis first appears in  $-\acute{\alpha}\omega\nu$ : -1.7.
7. The Ionic declension  $\text{Ζηνός}$  etc. first appears: -1.6.
8. ‘Short’  $\bar{o}$ - and  $\bar{a}$ -stem dative plurals which cannot be elided: -1.5.
- 9,10.  $\bar{o}$ - and  $\bar{a}$ -stem accusative plurals begin to be biased towards appearing before consonants: not before -1.4 and -0.4 respectively.

Using this method, Janko finds a very interesting result for the forms showing quantitative metathesis (QM), numbers 5 and 6 above. About this finding Janko notes:

The point at which quantitative metathesis appeared in the traditional diction is established at -1.7 units on the common scale, according to the  $\bar{a}$ -stem genitives. This should represent the stage at which the Ionians took over the Aeolic tradition. It does not give the date of quantitative metathesis in Ionia, which must by Meister’s argument

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<sup>159</sup>Quoted from *HHH*, pp. 87-9. This list is compressed and elliptical. The development of  $-\omicron\iota\omicron$  is tied to the development of Common Greek  $*-\bar{o}hyo$ , and thus the surface representation  $-\omicron\iota\omicron$  may merely reflect the metrical shape of the pre-form rather than the specifically Aeolic morph. The  $\bar{a}$ -stem genitives may have a similar story. Quantitative metathesis, of course, appeared in  $*-\acute{\eta}\omega\nu$ , not  $-\acute{\alpha}\omega\nu$  as suggested in number 6; also, the import of number 5 would seem also to be the introduction of QM, as  $-\alpha\omicron$  and  $*-\eta\omicron$  were metrically indistinguishable. Finally, the assertion of number 3, the admission of elision in dative plurals, is opaque. It is unclear whether Janko would suggest that these forms differed from the rest of epic language in their deployment of elision, or if the assertion is that elision first entered for all relevant words at this point on the Common Scale. While it strikes me as unthinkable that elision would be a late entry into epic language, it is equally disconcerting to suggest that the  $\bar{o}$ - and  $\bar{a}$ -stem dative plurals should have been treated differently for some reason. Janko does not, to my knowledge, clarify this point.

have happened somewhat earlier, at least in the area which moulded the epic diction to its final shape.<sup>160</sup>

The agreement of the masculine  $\bar{a}$ -stem genitive singulars and the  $\bar{a}$ -stem genitive plurals would seem to buttress this claim; both are ostensibly linked to the introduction of QM into epic diction, but a detailed investigation reveals that the metrics are actually different. 5 gives the point on the common scale (-1.8) at which the figures for *Il* and *Th* project 100% *archaism* in  $-\alpha\omicron$ . That is to say, at this relative date, all Greek hexameter singing would have used  $-\alpha\omicron$  exclusively in this category. Number 6, on the other hand, measures 0% *innovation* in the genitive plurals by comparing the number of forms showing QM versus the number of archaic  $\bar{a}$ -stem genitive plurals in  $-\acute{\alpha}\omega\nu$ . This excludes forms transmitted as  $-\tilde{\omega}\nu$  (12x *Il*, 4x *Th*) and  $-\tilde{\alpha}\nu$  (1x *Th*).

While we would expect 100% archaism to be tantamount to 0% innovation, the presentation of the facts from the epics merely creates the illusion of agreement between these two features. Because of the treatment of ambiguous sequences, these figures as tallied are not the same. The masculine  $\bar{a}$ -stem genitive singulars with apparent QM occur relatively frequently before a vowel in Homer, though never in Hesiod.<sup>161</sup> In such a case, we can, and perhaps must, restore the archaic ending with elision. A sequence of  $-\epsilon\omega + V-$ , scanned with synizesis, may simply be a graphic representation of an earlier  $^*\bar{\alpha}' + V-$  with elision of  $-\alpha\omicron$ .<sup>162</sup> The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* each show over twenty

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<sup>160</sup> *HHH*, pp. 90-1.

<sup>161</sup> We may take as an example the ending of the first line of the *Iliad*: Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος|. We find 28 examples of  $-\epsilon\omega + V-$  in the *Iliad* and 25 in the *Odyssey*, but none in Hesiod; no hymn but the hymn to Aphrodite (1 example) has an ambiguous sequence of this kind.

<sup>162</sup> Or, just as likely to my mind, elision of  $^*\eta\omicron$ . To give a concrete example, the sequence at *Iliad* 1.1, Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος| may thus represent  $^*\Pi\eta\lambda\eta\acute{\iota}\acute{\alpha}\delta\eta\acute{\iota}\ \acute{\Lambda}\chi\iota\lambda\grave{\eta}\omicron\varsigma|$ . Cf. Chantraine *GH* I p.70.

such examples, but again, Hesiod none. QM is only guaranteed at line end or before a consonant. Thus, if we set aside ambiguous examples and calculate instead the point at which “Quantitative metathesis first appears in  $-\alpha\omega$ ,” i.e. 0% innovation for this feature, using the method parallel to that used for the genitive plurals, we get -0.6. If we calculate the point at which  $-\acute{\alpha}\omega\nu$  “ceases to be the sole genitive plural ending of  $\bar{a}$ -stems,” we get -2.15. These results are clearer in the table below:<sup>163</sup>

<sup>163</sup> The math involved is a series of proportions based on the percentages obtained from the *Iliad* and *Theogony*, set three units apart on the common scale. Those percentages are:

	$-\bar{\alpha}\omega$	%- $\bar{\alpha}\omega$	$-\xi\omega/\omega + V$	$\sim +C$	Grand Total
<i>Iliad</i>	173	<b>77.9</b>	28	21	222
<i>Theogony</i>	5	<b>41.7</b>	0	7	12

	$-\bar{\alpha}\omega\nu$	%- $\bar{\alpha}\omega\nu$	$-\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$	$-\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$ (syniz.)	$-\bar{\omega}\nu/-\bar{\alpha}\nu$	Grand Total
<i>Iliad</i>	188	<b>83.9</b>	2	22	12 / 0	224
<i>Theogony</i>	24	<b>61.5</b>	0	10	4 / 1	39

Janko calculates that “ **$-\alpha\omega$  ceases to be the sole a-stem masculine genitive singular ending: -1.8**” by treating the difference between the *Iliad* and *Theogony* as three units and then calculating the proportional distance on the common scale between the value for the *Iliad* and 100%. Thus, the difference between 77.9 and 41.7, or 36.2%, is equivalent to 3 units on the common scale for this feature. The difference between 100% archaism and the *Iliad*, in this case 77.9%, is 22.1%. To determine the distance on the common scale between the *Iliad* and 100% archaism, we use the proportion  $36.2:3 = 22.1:x$ ,  $x=1.84$ . Since the *Iliad* is set at zero on the common scale, “ $\alpha\omega$  ceases to be the sole a-stem masculine genitive singular ending” at -1.8 units. Rather than following this same procedure for the genitive plurals (i.e.  $(83.9-61.5):3=(100-83.9):x$ , or  $22.4:3=16.1:x$ ,  $x=2.15$ ), Janko instead calculates that “**Quantitative metathesis first appears in  $-\acute{\alpha}\omega\nu$ : -1.7**” by setting aside forms in  $-\bar{\omega}\nu$  or  $-\bar{\alpha}\nu$  and comparing the percentage of forms in  $-\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$  per the total of these forms and forms in  $-\bar{\alpha}\omega\nu$ , 10.5% Il., 29.4% Th.; and so,  $(29.4-10.5):3=10.5:x$ , or  $18.1:3=10.5:x$ ,  $x=1.7$ . The same method for the genitive singulars produces 0% innovation at -0.6; guaranteed  $-\epsilon\omega$  9.5% Il., 58.3% Th. It must be noted that while the *Iliad* shows over two hundred examples of the masculine  $\bar{a}$ -stem genitive singular, the *Theogony* shows only twelve total. This is narrow and insecure footing on which to base the date of the Aeolic phase of the epic tradition.

Table 4: Common Scale results with ambiguous examples excluded

	“100% archaism”	“0% innovation”
-αο / -εω	-1.7	-0.6
-άων / -έων	-2.15	-1.8

Contrary to Janko’s presentation, when we compare apples to apples, the forms showing quantitative metathesis do not agree on this point, and do not in fact suggest a specific point of transfer from Aeolic to Ionic speakers, even assuming a constant rate of language change. This, of course, does not prove that an Aeolic phase never existed, nor does it disprove the basic notion that a statistical increase in the frequency of the innovative forms showing QM could reflect a diachronically later stage of the tradition. One of Janko’s primary claims is that the *Odyssey* shows a higher frequency of innovations than the *Iliad* for all the features he tests, including those showing QM.

The distribution of endings with and without QM for the masculine ā-stem genitive singulars and the ā-stem genitive plurals is as follows:<sup>164</sup>

Table 5: Distribution of masculine ā-stem genitive singulars<sup>165</sup>

	-āο	%-āο	-εω/ω +V	~+C	Grand Total
<i>Iliad</i>	173	<b>77.9</b>	28	21	222
<i>Odyssey</i>	80	<b>72.7</b>	25	5	110

<sup>164</sup> The numbers are taken directly from Janko’s count (*HHH* pp. 49, 51), which I have independently confirmed. Janko’s numbers differ slightly from those of Chantraine (which Edwards follows). Chantraine’s numbers are slightly lower: for -āο 167 *Il.*, 77 *Od.*; for irresolvable -εω before a consonant 20 for *Il.*, 5 for *Od.* GH I, 70. As neither Janko nor Chantraine gives a full account of the raw data, I cannot account for the discrepancy.

<sup>165</sup> cf. *HHH* Table 11, p. 49.

Table 6: Distribution of ā-stem genitive plurals<sup>166</sup>

	-āων	%-āων	-έων	-έων (syniz.)	-ῶν	Grand Total
<i>Iliad</i>	188	<b>83.9</b>	2	22	12	224
<i>Odyssey</i>	130	<b>80.2</b>	1	21	10	162

For the ā-stem masculine singulars Janko separates out those examples of -εω which occur before a consonant and at line end, i.e. secure examples of QM, from those which occur before a vowel; these, as we have just seen, are in fact ambiguous as they may represent the archaic ending with elision. The manner of counting which Janko employs, however, effectively classes these ambiguous sequences with the secure innovative forms. That is, for the masculine ā-stem genitive singulars, Janko counts the number of forms showing the archaic/"Aeolic" -āο ending and renders this as a percentage of the total number of masculine ā-stem genitive singulars. Consequently, the ambiguous sequences before a vowel are treated as "non-archaic" even though there is strong reason to see them as mere graphic representations of an archaism. In fact, these forms are simply ambiguous and must be entirely eliminated from the calculus.

When we omit these forms from consideration we find that the trend for this feature reverses:

Table 7: Distribution of masculine ā-stem genitive singulars (corrected)

	-āο	%-āο	(-εω/ω +V)	~+C	Grand Total
<i>Iliad</i>	173	<b>89.2</b>	(28)	21	194
<i>Odyssey</i>	80	<b>94.1</b>	(25)	5	85

<sup>166</sup> cf. *HHH* Table 12, p. 51.

Under this improved calculus the *Odyssey* shows a higher preference for the archaic morph than does the *Iliad*.<sup>167</sup>

The genitive plural  $\bar{a}$ -stems show no such ambiguity, only a (perhaps merely graphic) distinction between forms in  $-\epsilon\omega\nu$  (nearly always with synizesis) and forms in contracted  $-\tilde{\omega}\nu$  or  $-\tilde{\alpha}\nu$ .<sup>168</sup> For this category, the *Iliad* does in fact show the archaic morph in  $-\acute{\alpha}\omega\nu$  somewhat more frequently (83.9%) than the *Odyssey* does (80.2%), as shown in the table above. Hesiod, naturally, shows far fewer examples:

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<sup>167</sup> If we treat the  $-\epsilon\omega+V$ -sequences as unambiguously archaic, the *Odyssey*, not the *Iliad*, still shows a higher preference for the archaic ending: *Iliad* 90.5%  $-\alpha\omega$ , *Odyssey* 95.5%  $-\alpha\omega$ . The proportion of archaism to innovation is not, of course, the only- or the best- metric we could apply. The following table provides the number of occurrences per 1000 lines of the  $\bar{a}$ -stem genitives:

	Total masc. $\bar{a}$ -stem gen. sg.	Total $\bar{a}$ - stem gen. pl.	$-\alpha\omega$	$-\epsilon\omega$	$-\acute{\alpha}\omega\nu$	$-\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu/\tilde{\omega}\nu/\tilde{\alpha}\nu$
<i>Il</i>	14.1	14.3	11.0	1.3	12.0	2.3
<i>Od</i>	9.1	13.4	6.6	0.4	10.7	2.6
<i>Th</i>	11.9	38.7	5.0	6.9	23.8	14.9
<i>Erga</i>	10.9	13.3	6.9	4.8	7.3	6.1

By this reckoning, again, the *Iliad* shows a greater frequency of (guaranteed) use of the innovative  $-\epsilon\omega$ , this time per line. It is interesting to note that the *Iliad* has occasion to employ a masc.  $\bar{a}$ -stem gen. sg. more often than the other poems in question, but the *Theogony* is extremely different from the other poems in terms of its per line deployment of the gen. pl. of the  $\bar{a}$ -stems (though the total number of examples is only 39). Hesiod's usage in both of these categories is again demonstrably different from that of Homer.

<sup>168</sup> The non-Ionic contracted genitive in  $-\tilde{\alpha}\nu$  occurs once in the *Theogony* and once in the *Erga*. Homer shows a total of three disyllabic examples of  $-\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$ , elsewhere with synizesis. The forms are  $\pi\upsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$  (H 1, M 340) and  $\theta\upsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$  ( $\phi$  191). The semantic connection between the only two forms showing disyllabic scansion of the genitive plural  $\bar{a}$ -stem ending is striking. Janko cites Wyatt's attempt ((1969) 124n.2) "to get rid of  $\pi\upsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$  etc. ... by alleging that the analogy of s-stems influenced these forms, which is unparalleled and incredible." *HHH* n.28, p.250. Given the extreme isolation of these forms within epic diction, however, and the likely phonological history of the forms in question, an analogical explanation is not unlikely. vid. infra pp. 81-3, esp. n. 189.

Table 8: Distribution of ā-stem genitive plurals in Hesiod

	-ᾱων	%-ᾱων	-ἑων	-ἕων (syniz.)	-ῶν	-ᾶν	Grand Total
<i>Theogony</i>	24	61.5	0	10	4	1	39
<i>Erga</i>	6	54.5	0	4	0	1	11
<i>Cat</i>	16	66.7	0	8	0	0	24

The percentages, in comparison with the Homeric figures, seem to indicate a marked increase in the frequency of forms with QM, though the numbers are somewhat small. Edwards dissects the numbers into traditional versus apparently innovative phraseology. Of the 24 occurrences of -ᾱων in *Th.*, for example, 14 are found in Homer in the same metrical position, eight of those “in phrases which occur in Homer and which almost certainly did not originate in Hesiod,”<sup>169</sup> that is, traditional phrases. The six examples in the *Erga* are not in obviously traditional phrases, according to Edwards, though “traditional” here means essentially “repeated (in Homer).”<sup>170</sup>

The genitive singulars in Hesiod show an even more striking pattern: “the -ᾶο genitives in the *Theogony* and the *Works and Days* belong without exception to forms which occur with an -ᾶο genitive in Homer, often in the same or a similar context.”<sup>171</sup> This points clearly to traditional diction in the repertoire of the poet of *Theogony* and *Works and Days* which was shared with the poet of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Edwards goes on to demonstrate that

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<sup>169</sup> Edwards,(1971) p.128.

<sup>170</sup> It would seem very likely, of course, that a great deal more of the work of Homer and Hesiod would fit the usual definition of “traditional” if only we had access to the great mass of lost archaic hexameter poetry. The comparative evidence for a didactic poetic tradition in hexameters, in which tradition the *Erga* fits, is even more sorely lacking than that for narrative/epic or theogonic verse.

<sup>171</sup> Edwards, G. P.(1971) p. 124.



traditional influence “is much less apparent in Hesiod’s use of genitives in -  
εω, -ω.”<sup>172</sup>

The numbers for this morph in particular are especially small, so small that Janko declines to give percentages for works other than Homer and Hesiod (including the *Catalog*, though not the *Aspis*). The total numbers do decline precipitously outside of Homer, with just twelve total examples in the *Theogony* (41.7% -αο) and nine in the *Erga* (55.5% -αο). Janko’s pronouncement that “[c]learly little can be learnt about the hymns from a morpheme as rare as this,”<sup>173</sup> could be extended to include Hesiod (and perhaps even Homer) as well.

#### Section 5: Evidence for the full development of QM in epic language

The ā-stem genitives are not of course the only environment where we can look for the effects of QM in Homeric diction. To combat the appearance of a gap, we must search for *Ionic* archaisms alongside their Ionic innovative forms; we would thus have evidence of continuity of the tradition. Such evidence does exist; for example, the subjunctive of athematic ἴστημι shows the following development and distribution of forms:

1<sup>st</sup> pl. aor. subj. \*στάομεν > στεί-ο-μεν (O 297) > στέω-μεν (Λ 348=X 231)

The epics (the *Iliad* at least), show what appears to be the archaic Ionic phonology with fronting of \*ā to /ē/ extant in the form στείομεν<sup>174</sup> as well as

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<sup>172</sup> Edwards, G. P.(1971) p.125.

<sup>173</sup> *HHH*, p. 49.

<sup>174</sup> The spelling <ει> for historical <η> is a non-issue. “The verb-stems in ē normally have -ει- before o-vowels but -η- before e-vowels (δαμείω, δαμήης; βείω, στείομεν, τεθνειώς). This looks like a bardic convention.” Janko (1992) p. 36. cf. Chantraine *GHI*, p. 8ff.

the later form showing QM, *στέωμεν* scanned with synizesis. Additionally, the forms for “ship” present the full development of the Ionic forms:

\**νᾱ̃F-ός* > *νηός* (A 476) > *νεός* (O 423), *Ἀκρόνεως* (θ 111)

The declension of ship shows a very mixed picture, and one that should be treated as a separate phenomenon from the *ā*-stems. The forms are systematically disyllabic in the simplex, with apparent archaisms in *νηός*, *νῆας*, and *νηῶν*, and innovative forms in *νεός*, *νέας*, and *νεῶν*. Except in compounds,<sup>175</sup> we never find the QM forms like the Attic genitive *νεώς* in the epics. Thus, with the exception of *νέᾱ* 1x at l283, the forms show shortening rather than QM. We thus have some evidence for Ionian phonology in the appropriate sequences, but not for the *ā*-stem genitives.

#### Section 6: Further evidence against an Aeolic Phase

The proponents of an Aeolic phase argue that the Ionian bards took over the Aeolic tradition and modernized where they could, retaining forms for which they had no replacement as they found them. In Wackernagel’s formulation, “*Äolismen haben sich in der epischen Sprache im ganzen gerade nur da gehalten, wo das Ionische keinen prosodisch gleichwertigen Ersatz besaß, sonst trat dafür die ionische Form ein.*”<sup>176</sup> This theory implicitly makes certain predictions, however, which are clearly wrong. Every sequence of <ηο>

<sup>175</sup> Forms like *νηός* and *λαός* are systematically disyllabic in the simplex in Homer, but show QM in compounds (cf. Chantraine *GHI* .72): *Ἀγέλεως* (χ 131, 247), *Πηνέλεως* (B 494; Ξ 496; P 489), *Πηνέλεων* (N 92) *Πηνέλεω* (Ξ 487); *Ἀκρόνεως* (θ 111), *Ἀναβησίνεως* (θ 113). Likewise, the long vowel of *ῆώς*, *ἔω*, *ῆοῦς* contrasts with the short vowel of the compound *έωσφόρος* (Ψ 226). An analogous distribution is found in Hesiod, archaic lyric, Herodotus, and in inscriptions from the Ionic speech area. Hdt. *ῆώς* ~ *έωθινός*; *ληός* ~ *Μενέλεως*, *λεωφόρων*; *νηός* ~ *νεωσοίκους*. Mendez-Dosuna (1993) p. 112f.

<sup>176</sup> Wackernagel (1916) p. 19.

or <ηω> or <ηα> which appears in epic is, accepting an Aeolic phase, predicted to have a non-Ionic origin,<sup>177</sup> at least among polysyllables. Homer shows a good number, e.g. αἰζήος ‘vigorous, stout,’ ἔκηα ‘I burned’ (< \**ekahwa* < \**ekawsa*), etc.<sup>178</sup> The existence, indeed frequency, of such sequences presents real difficulties for an Aeolic phase, per se. Meister himself, in the face of these problems, asks, “weshalb ließ Homer nicht \*ναός \*μετάορος ἄος stehen, da er doch νεώς μετέωρος ἔως sprach?”<sup>179</sup> The duals present similar problems.

The athematic dual forms συναντήτην (π 333), προσανδήτην (Λ 136, Χ 90), συλήτην (Ν 202), and φοιτήτην (Μ 266) are all formed from verbs in -άω. This inflection for contract verbs, the so-called “Aeolic” inflection, was foreign to Ionic,<sup>180</sup> thus, if these forms were a part of an Aeolic tradition which was

<sup>177</sup> This excludes disyllabic forms such as ἠώς, νηός for reasons put forth by Mendez-Dosuna, cf. n. 36 above.

<sup>178</sup> Meister (1966) p. 168, quotes numerous other forms for which we find spellings of <ηο>, <ηων>, <ειο>, and <ειων> in words once containing PGk. /ā/. My thanks to Martin Peters (p.c.) for bringing these forms to my attention.

<sup>179</sup> Meister (1966) p. 168.

<sup>180</sup> The so-called “Aeolic” inflection designates a characteristic athematic inflection in Aeolic for contract verbs in other dialects; e.g. Ionic and elsewhere καλέω, φιλέω, τιμάω etc.~ Lesb./Thess. κάλημι, φίλημι, τίμαμι, etc. cf. Blümel (1982) pp. 167-77. The Mycenaean evidence provides a mixed picture, showing both *te-re-ja* with apparent athematic inflection and the participle *to-ro-qe-jo-me-no* with apparent thematic inflection. The third person singular *te-re-ja* in tablet GRA 10 T 1 is to be interpreted as /*teleiyāi*/ corresponding to the γέλαι type cited by the grammarians for Aeolic, but the word also shows an infinitive *te-re-ja-e* which stands for /*teleiyā<sup>h</sup>en*/; the ending /-<sup>h</sup>en/ < \*/-sen/ is normally found in the thematic verbs of the type Myc. *e-ke-e* /*ek<sup>h</sup>e<sup>h</sup>en*/ ≈ classical ἔχειν. The pres. middle ppl. *to-ro-qe-jo-me-no* in PY Eq 213 stands for thematically inflected /*trok<sup>w</sup>eyomenos*/. The situation in Mycenaean seems to show a split in the inflectional pattern, perhaps inherited; cf. Hock (1971) 497ff. and 693ff. “Athematische Verben auf \*/-ā-mi/ gehen auf einen faktitiven Typus zurück, wie im Hethitischen bezeugt ist. Paradebeispiel ist das Verbum *newahh*- “neu machen” < \*/*newah<sub>2</sub>*-, dessen 3.Pers.Sg. *newahhi* lautlich mykenischem /*teleiyāi*/ entspricht. \*/*teleiyā-mi*/ ist also von einem Adjektiv /*teleiyos*/ (τέλειος) abgeleitet und entspricht funktional späterem τελειόω.” (Hajnal (2007) p. 16). Myc. /*trok<sup>w</sup>eyo-mai*/ (Hom. τροπέομαι) stands in relation to the base-verb /*trek<sup>w</sup>o-mai*/ (classical τρέπομαι) as classical φορέω to φέρω. The athematic inflection of e-contract verbs are generally seen as an innovation, but perhaps one found in Mycenaean: PY Eq 36[+J887 shows a reading *po-ne-to-qe-mi* interpreted as /*ponētoi-k<sup>w</sup>e-min*/ whereby *po-ne-to* /*ponētoi* appears as an athematic 3rd sg. mid. of a verb \*/*ponēmai*/, which

taken over into Ionic, the Ionian bards had no metrically corresponding form with which to replace, e.g. Aeolic \*συλᾱτᾱν. Even if we imagine that Ionic had developed and retained the dual ending in –την from PGk. \*-τᾱν, there would be no metrical equivalent form with a long final stem vowel. The mechanical approach would yield the hybrid \*συλᾱτην.

Mais les formes de duel en –την présentent pourtant l’η ionien attique à la place de l’ᾱ du grec commun. C’est de même un η, non un ᾱ qui est noté à la fin du radical des duels de verbes en –αω comme προσαυδήτην, ou dans les infinitifs comme γοήμεναι de γοάω. Ces formes athématiques de verbes contractes sont composites et ont été accommodées au vocalisme de l’ionien.<sup>181</sup>

But the forms of the dual in –την nevertheless present Attic-Ionic η in place of Common Greek ᾱ. It is likewise an η, not ᾱ which is indicated at the end of the root of the duals of the verbs in –αω such as προσαυδήτην, or in the infinitives like γοήμεναι from γοάω. These

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is also found in homeric πονέομαι. The athematic inflection of an originally thematic verb \*/ponéyō / < \*/(s)ponhī-éye/o-/ constitutes a deviation from the inherited situation, and therefore an innovation. (Hajnal (2007) p. 17) This innovation seems to have been shared by the Aeolic dialects, as well as Arcado-Cyprian (e.g. Arc. κατυφρονῆναι, Cypr. κυμερναι, cf. Buck (1955) §157).

Despite being a part of Mycenaean **and** Aeolic, the “Aeolic inflection” plays a very tiny role in the language of the epics. The Ionic contract verb treatment pervades the language of the epos; Wyatt notes that such lines as

ἦ μοῦνοι φιλέουσ’ ἀλόχους μερόπων ἀνθρώπων (ι 340)  
ὄν Ξάνθον καλέουσι θεοί, ἄνδρες δὲ Σκάμανδρον (υ 74)

have no metrical equivalents in Aeolic; such examples can be multiplied. Besides the duals at hand, Homer presents only a handful of forms which could be explained based on Aeolic athematic inflection, e.g. φορήμεναι (1x Il.) and φορήναι (3x Il., 1x Od.) beside Ionic φορέειν (4x Il., 2x Od.). cf. Chantraine *GHI*, p. 306. Proponents of an Aeolic phase must explain why the nominal system of epic shows a good deal of Aeolic influence, but the verbal system very little.

<sup>181</sup> Chantraine, *GHI*, p. 306. The duals for contract verbs in –έω only rarely show –ήτην (ἀπειλήτην from ἀπειλέω), showing instead –ειτην (δορπείτην, κομείτην, etc.). The poets clearly employed a certain amount of modification and analogy to these forms which were not a part of colloquial speech.

athematic forms of contract verbs are composites and have been accommodated to the vocalism of Ionic.

This Ionicization stands in contrast to the process envisioned for a transfer from Aeolic to Ionic. Against this tendency to Ionicize the phonology taken over from Aeolic sources stands the case of the  $-\alpha\omicron$  and  $-\acute{\alpha}\omega\nu$  genitives, which are anomalous whether Ionian singers acquired these formations punctually (under the “stacked” model) or through ongoing exchange and diffusion. QM is metrically guaranteed by the time of the textualizations of the epics. The sound change is assured. Assuming an Aeolic epic transferred to Ionians after QM, we should expect a model  $*\nu\epsilon\phi\epsilon\lambda\bar{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\tau\bar{\alpha}\omicron$  to produce an Ionicized  $*\nu\epsilon\phi\epsilon\lambda\eta\gamma\epsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\tau\eta\omicron$ , to judge from the situation of the duals above. Instead, we find the hybrid  $\nu\epsilon\phi\epsilon\lambda\eta\gamma\epsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\omicron$ .<sup>182</sup> Nothing prevented the poets from Ionicizing the ending, though, of course, this was not the practice. Mendez-Dosuna argues, rightly, that the process for these forms in fact worked in the opposite direction.<sup>183</sup>

The forms in  $-\bar{\alpha}\omicron$ ,  $-\acute{\alpha}\omega\nu$ , which appear systematically in place of  $-\eta\omicron$ ,  $-\acute{\eta}\omega\nu$ , more in agreement with Ionic phonetics (cf. also  $\lambda\bar{\alpha}\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ ,  $\Pi\omicron\sigma\epsilon\iota\delta\acute{\alpha}\omega\nu$ , etc.), should not be interpreted as the residue of an Aeolic phase or, on the other hand, Proto-Ionic. Such Aeolism (or archaism) would be inorganic since  $-\eta\omicron$ ,  $-\acute{\eta}\omega\nu$  would not have altered the metrical value of  $-\alpha\omicron$ ,  $-\acute{\alpha}\omega\nu$ . *Pace* Ruijgh (1985: pp. 147-8), it seems more likely that the process operated in the opposite direction (cf. Miller 1982, pp. 120-1, Peters 1989: pp. 36-7): the forms in  $-\alpha\omicron$ ,  $-\acute{\alpha}\omega\nu$ , taken from a distinct poetic tradition, supplanted those in  $-\eta\omicron$ ,  $-\acute{\eta}\omega\nu$  because, at the

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<sup>182</sup> The form occurs 6x in the *Iliad*, always in the phrase  $\Delta\iota\acute{\omicron}\varsigma \nu\epsilon\phi\epsilon\lambda\eta\gamma\epsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\omicron \#$ . This is an obvious declension of the common nominative formula  $\nu\epsilon\phi\epsilon\lambda\eta\gamma\epsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha \text{Ζε}\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma \#$ . The phonology of this nominative formula, i.e. in  $\langle\alpha\rangle$ , could even have influenced or reinforced the practice of singing the genitive ending in  $-\alpha\omicron$ .

<sup>183</sup> Mendez-Dosuna (1993) pp. 99-100, n.7.

time when the homeric text was being established, these endings were no longer used in colloquial Ionic. It is as if the singers preferred the artificial forms in  $\bar{\alpha}o$  and  $\bar{\alpha}\omega\nu$ , which would seem authentic because they had a correlate in other (literary) dialects, to authentic forms in  $\eta o$ ,  $\eta\omega\nu$ , which would seem artificial because they were not in current use.

It is not clear when the Ionic forms in eta would have given way to forms in alpha. We have seen that the  $\bar{a}$ -stem genitives do not provide us with the full range of the stages of QM in Ionic, but the verb  $\sigma\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}o\mu\epsilon\nu \sim \sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega\mu\epsilon\nu$  does. Why should  $\sigma\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}o\mu\epsilon\nu$  show archaic Ionic phonology but the genitives not? The singers showed a preference for living forms where possible, even those living in neighboring dialect regions which practiced hexameter singing.<sup>184</sup> The subjunctive in Lesbian, as in virtually all Greek dialects eventually, generalized the long vowel subjunctive marker  $\eta/\omega$  to the athematic stems, and so, even though  $*\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}o\mu\epsilon\nu$  was obsolete in the Ionian singers dialect, Lesbian offered no metrically equivalent variant as it did for the  $\bar{a}$ -stem genitives.

#### Section 7: An Alternative explanation for the distribution of QM

I suggest that we have a special application of Parry's principle that "the language of oral poetry changes as a whole neither faster nor slower than the spoken language, but in its parts it changes readily where no loss of formulas is called for, belatedly when there must be such a loss, so that the traditional diction has in it words and forms of everyday use side by side with

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<sup>184</sup> The dialect mixture does strongly imply sharing among singing traditions, not simply borrowing from neighboring colloquial forms. Phraseology would have been borrowed and adapted because of its metrical utility, and that utility was only apparent in versified speech rather than simple conversation.

others that belong to earlier stages of the language.”<sup>185</sup> When we allow that the language of oral poetry was a reflex of many local singers using and adapting material shared among them, and that there were clearly traditions in Aeolic and Ionic in contact, the preservation of obsolete \*στήομεν, for which there was no living replacement, and the loss of \*-ηο, \*-ήων, for which there was a replacement, becomes comprehensible. The apparent gap in the development of the ā-stem genitives does not provide diagnostic evidence for an Aeolic phase preceding the Ionic tradition.

QM changed the metrical shape of the ā-stem genitives, however, and whether the epic was always Ionic or did pass through an Aeolic phase, the forms showing QM are innovative while those in -αο and -άων show the archaic shape. We have mentioned the problem of archaisms generally for establishing chronology, namely that they can be preserved more or less indefinitely and redeployed wherever useful. While that is certainly true for the ā-stem genitive forms, these forms interface with the dialect mixture in an interesting way depending on one’s faith in an Aeolic phase. If Ionians received the tradition from Aeolians at a time when QM was an accomplished fact in Ionic, and from that point Ionic developed the tradition briefly before the texts of Homer were established, all of the examples of innovative QM entered the tradition recently, i.e. after the transfer, and all of the -αο -άων forms are *de facto* older in the tradition. Ionian bards could create some archaic looking forms by analogy, but given the brief window between the transfer and text, the effects of any such propagation would likely be minimal. We have a set of forms which are archaic versus innovative both in absolute

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<sup>185</sup> Parry (1932) p.12 (=MHV 333)

linguistic terms (i.e. the archaic variant is a pre-form of the innovative variant) and in terms of the tradition (i.e. Aeolic precedes Ionic).

If we accept the diffusion hypothesis, however, the picture becomes somewhat cloudier. Not only do the archaic forms have the potential to be recycled, as always, but also, rather than entering the Ionian tradition at its birth, Aeolic forms in  $-\alpha\omicron$  and  $-\acute{\alpha}\omega\nu$  could enter the Ionic tradition over generations. Even after QM occurred in the Ionic vernacular, and these forms began to enter the tradition, the Ionian tradition could still borrow forms in  $-\alpha\omicron$  and  $-\acute{\alpha}\omega\nu$  from Aeolic sources, and/or create them on the model of  $-\alpha\omicron$  and  $-\acute{\alpha}\omega\nu$  forms already there. These late imports would have an archaic shape but could have entered the tradition after forms showing QM entered. Forms showing the effects of QM would still be innovations, but without the Aeolic phase we can no longer identify specific examples of the archaic variant as “older” in terms of the tradition itself. Given this situation, the number of forms in  $-\alpha\omicron$  or  $-\acute{\alpha}\omega\nu$  can tell us very little since we can never be sure whether a particular example entered the tradition before QM in Ionic or later by diffusion.

#### Section 8: Formulaic concerns regarding QM

Despite all of this, we must face the fact that the genitives with QM are rare in the epics. The categories as a whole are not very large, especially the singulars, but even more important is the observation by Hoekstra that “the evidence for the existence of formulae originally built upon quantitative metathesis is extremely slight. This strongly suggests after the metathesis had begun to develop in East Ionic, oral composition came to an end so soon that hardly any substantial expression created out of the new material provided by



the evolution of the spoken dialect had time to attain a formulaic fixity.”<sup>186</sup> The relationship of epic practice and the timing of sound changes carries so many caveats as to be worthless. There is no set amount of time necessary to generate formulae. Attempting to date the sound change provisionally, Hoekstra proposes the following:

[W]e may reasonably suppose that in the second half of the seventh century, to which the Nikandre-inscription probably belongs, the metathesis itself was still a recent development in Central Ionic. So if we assume that in the regions of Chios and Smyrna the change in quantity was completed no more than a century earlier, that is to say about half of that time (i.e. one or at most two generations of singers) before the composition of the *Iliad*, we shall not be very far from the truth. The state of affairs we find in Homer is in accordance with this approximate dating of the phenomenon.<sup>187</sup>

Hoekstra’s attitude is that the epics were in a process of decay from formulaic originals to less formulaic modifications. The bardic technique was one of near constant reworking (which is in fact the foundation of Janko’s analysis), but to call this process “decomposition of the formulaic tradition”<sup>188</sup> casts the process as one of degeneration, rather than constant regeneration. He is right to note

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<sup>186</sup> Hoekstra (1969a) p. 38.

<sup>187</sup> Hoekstra (1969a) p.31 The famous Nikandre inscription of Naxos (*CEG* 403, 2), found at Delos and dated to the 7<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> century, shows distinct signs for etymological /ē/, spelled <ε> (e.g. ἀνέθεκεν), and the sound resulting from the raising of /ā/, spelled <η> (e.g. Νικάνδοη); the sounds had yet to merge in Central Ionic. The inscription is composed in hexameters, and very interestingly it shows two guaranteed examples of QM each scanned with synizesis and spelled with the sign for <η>, Δεινο|δίκηο and ἀλήων (=ἀλλήων). These forms are not, despite the spelling, the missing \*-ηο and \*-ηων of the continuous Ionic tradition, but rather equivalents to the epic forms in -εω -έων. The masculine ἄλλων is frequent at line end in the epics, which also show ἀλλάων but never ἀλλέων. Mendez-Dosuna (1992) p. 100, notes that metrical inscriptions systematically show synizesis, rather than disyllabic QM, from early on up to an advanced date. cf. n. 189.

<sup>188</sup> Hoekstra (1969a) p.41.

that disyllabic examples of –εω and –έων are vanishingly rare, not showing any evidence for formulaic involvement, and perhaps even the “personal creations of Homer himself or of his immediate predecessors.”<sup>189</sup> Forms of –εω + V- which could be restored to \*-ā'(o) +V- outnumber secure cases of monosyllabic –εω in both the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, but are unknown in Hesiod and nearly all the hymns. This replaceable prevocalic –εω also shows some involvement in formulaic language, e.g. Πηληιάδεω Ἀχιλῆος, Λαερτιάδεω Ὀδυσῆος, Ἀτρεΐδεω Ἀγαμέμνωνος. Guaranteed examples of QM are somewhat more rare in the epics, and this scarcity has led to a supposition that the sound change itself was recent. The extra-Homeric evidence, however, does not support this supposition.

The evidence from Attic and Ionic points strongly to an early date for QM over a hiatus left after the loss of \*h < \*s or yod. For example, in Attic we find the genitive plurals of the first declension regularly contracted in -ῶν , but Attic shows the products of QM over a -w- hiatus still uncontracted. That is, nouns of the ἵππεύς and βασιλεύς type never show contraction in the genitive plural, e.g.:

over an h-hiatus < \*s:

\*hedrāhōm > ἑδράων (1x *h. Apollo*) > \*hedrēōn > ἑδρέων (1x *Od.*) > Att.  
ἑδρῶν

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<sup>189</sup> Hoekstra (1969a) p.32. The forms are extremely limited: πυλέων, θυρέων, ἔως, τέως, and perhaps μυγέωσι. Mendez-Dosuna (1993) s.v., developing an idea of Schwyzler, seeks to demonstrate that so-called QM in Greek was more likely a process of desyllabification of the first element, creating a diphthong and triggering compensatory lengthening of the second element. The notion, then, that these disyllabic forms would have been the primary output of QM followed by contraction or synizesis, seems wrong and not in accord with the practice of the epic or, indeed, the tragedians. The monosyllabic scansion seems the primary outcome of the sound change. That said, however, solutions for the distraction of the monosyllable to yield the ultimate disyllabic output are difficult to justify.

over a *w*-hiatus:

*\*hippēwōn* > ἵππῆων (2x Il.) > Att.-Ion. ἵππέων

We can compare the situation in Attic of the *s*-stems, which show contraction in the genitive, e.g. Σωκράτους, versus the *-εϋ-* stem gen. sg. βασιλέως.

Unlike the *ā*-stems, the *-εϋ-* stems do not show the reduction of, for example, ἵππέων to *\*ἵππων* by contraction (or monophthongization). The different treatments of the two types of hiatus suggest at least two separate rounds of QM and a date for the first round of QM before the loss of intervocalic *-w-*, which was itself quite early in Attic and Ionic. The rule ordering is as follows:

	<i>*hedrāhōn</i>	<i>*hippēwōn</i>
i. loss of <i>h</i> (< <i>*s</i> , yod)	<i>hedrāōn</i>	<i>*hippēwōn</i>
ii. fronting of <i>a</i> : to <i>æ</i> :	<i>*hedræ:ōn</i>	<i>*hippēwōn</i>
iii. QM/shortening- 1	<i>hedreōn</i>	<i>*hippēwōn</i>
iv. Contraction	<i>hedrōn</i>	<i>*hippēwōn</i>
v. loss of intervocallic <i>-w-</i>	<i>hedrōn</i>	<i>hippēōn</i>
vi. QM/shortening- 2	<i>hedrōn</i>	<i>hippeōn</i>

Thus, Ionic singers should have had access to the innovative forms with QM from an early date, but these forms, again, do not appear at all frequently in epic language; and indeed the disyllabic scansion of the outputs are virtually unknown for the (polysyllabic) *ā*-stems. The low frequency of forms with QM, despite the relatively long availability of these forms to Ionic speakers based on the argument above, might seem to favor the notion that these forms only became available to the tradition after the inheritance of a non-Ionic, i.e. Aeolic, tradition. I suggest, rather, that this situation can be plausibly accounted for within a continuous Ionic tradition and in fact demonstrates a

broader pattern of poetic practice which renders the counting of archaisms versus innovations of little value for chronology.

Singers incorporate new linguistic features where they are useful for versification; this technique, as Hainsworth, Hoekstra, and others have made plain, often involves modification of older inherited diction. When the modification makes use of innovative forms, the process is often apparent.<sup>190</sup> For the genitives showing QM, we can compare such pairs as the clearly innovative genitive Ζηνὸς ἐριβρεμέτεω (N 624) with Ζεὺς ὑπιβρεμέτης (A 354, etc. 5x.); the pair seems to constitute a case of a declined formula, and the innovative nature is confirmed both by the ending with QM and by the analogical Ionic genitive Ζηνός for Διός. At least one example with QM has gained clear formulaic status: the line ending Κρόνου παῖς ἀγκυλομήτεω | occurs 8x in the *Iliad* in non-repeated lines; as such, the phrase qualifies as formulaic language by virtually any definition.<sup>191</sup> The phrase is related to the line ending Κρόνος ἀγκυλομήτης (Δ 59), and modified by the insertion of another element.<sup>192</sup> Ruijgh proposed that this phrase, unique among the polysyllabic forms showing QM in participating in clearly formulaic language, must be a transposition of a Lesbian original: \*Κρόνω πάφις ἀγκυλομήτᾱ.<sup>193</sup> But such a proposition would involve holding up all apparent cases of QM as mere Ionicizations. Interestingly, this formula breaks the formulaic economy

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<sup>190</sup> This is, of course, Hoekstra's focus in his *Homeric Modifications of Formulaic Prototypes*. The corollary phenomenon is more difficult to discern. That is, actual archaic material provides the template for other material which may not in fact be old at all; but because the new material is modeled on old, it may be indistinguishable from genuinely old material. This is yet another statement of the numerous caveats for deriving chronology from frequency of archaisms.

<sup>191</sup> cf. Chantraine *GHI*, p. 70 "Cet exemple enseigne que la langue épique a admis des formules de type nettement ionien."

<sup>192</sup> cf. Hoekstra (1965) p. 35-6; Peters (1989), p. 116, Mendez-Dosuna (1993) p. 103.

<sup>193</sup> Ruijgh (1985) p. 164-5. Lesbian shows a long /ō/ genitive for the o-stems, i.e. not -οιο.

of Homer, who has also the equivalent nominative designation πατήρ ἀνδρῶν  
τε θεῶν τε.<sup>194</sup>

#### Section 9: Archaism of metrical shape versus phonology

I propose that the paucity of the innovative variants in –εω(ν) correlates with the *early* date for QM in the following way. Ionian epic poetry had access to Ionic forms in \*–ηο \*–ηων (for forms inherited in –āyo, –āhōn), and such forms could well have proliferated further. At the point that QM affected Ionic, these older sequences were not simply obsolete but phonotactically in opposition to the singer’s colloquial speech. The older forms had a metrically useful scansion and were heavily localized, but at this point the singers in the tradition followed a policy whereby they retained the forms themselves but updated the endings with the living phonology of local Aeolic sources. At the time of this specific transformation, the Ionic epithet \*νεφεληγερέτηο assumed its hybrid shape νεφεληγερέταο; this transformation was pervasive enough that we need not assume a direct model for each individual form, i.e. \*νεφελαγερέταο. This accounts for the distribution in Homer and the epics. Certain figures were certainly part of the Pan-Hellenic epic tradition, and as such we can assume that certain forms had analogues in both Ionic and Aeolic singing, e.g. Ἀτρεΐδαο, Τυδεΐδαο, Αἰδαο, Πριαμίδαο etc. At an early point in the Ionic tradition foreign phonology was

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<sup>194</sup> Shipp and Hoekstra both agree that this phrase is “clearly older,” though none of its elements show any innovative variants in epic, or indeed in later Greek. The phrase may well be old, and probably is, but there is nothing diagnostically archaic about it. Shipp notes, “Whereas the latter [i.e. πατήρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε] is always in narrative our formula [i.e. Κρόνου παῖς ἄγκ.] is often not, and mostly in contexts that may not be old: B 205 comment on army discipline, B 319 (ath. Ar.) in the portent, Δ 75 simile, M 450 ath., explanatory verse, leaving I 37 (Diomedes’ speech), Π 431 (between a simile and the dialogue between Zeus and Hera which Zen. omitted), Σ 293 (Hector to Polydamas).” Shipp (1972) p. 172.

used to repair a metrical loss for a specific easily analyzable category. The endings  $-\alpha\omicron$  and  $-\acute{\alpha}\omega\nu$  became recognizable tokens of epic diction itself and were thus easily spread.

The singulars in particular reflect this tendency. In the *Iliad*, 48 of 56, or 86% of distinct words which show the ending  $-\alpha\omicron$  are proper names, and in this environment we can only expect the ending to proliferate; the *Odyssey*, in which the apparently archaic forms are proportionally even more common, has a similar breakdown and shows a number of specifically “Odyssean” names with the  $-\alpha\omicron$  ending which do not occur in the *Iliad*:  $\Lambda\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\rho\tau\alpha\omicron$ ,  $\tau\epsilon\iota\varrho\epsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha\omicron$ ,  $\text{A}\acute{\iota}\eta\tau\alpha\omicron$ . The *Catalog* of Hesiod shows the ending  $-\alpha\omicron$  27 times versus only 3 examples of  $-\epsilon\omega$ , or 90%  $-\alpha\omicron$ ; the *Theogony* and *Erga* show 41.7% and 55.5%  $-\alpha\omicron$  respectively, but only 12 and 9 total genitives, respectively, for the entire category. Clearly content affects the dictional choices. Heroic names were “epic” in every sense of the word. The alpha forms were thus marked as [+epic] from an early date. This served to retard the development of any significant formulaic systems showing QM. The masculine  $\bar{a}$ -stems were the subject of continuous remodeling, even giving way to a genitive in  $-\omicron\nu$  in Attic, and we have seen that the category was unstable from Proto-Greek times.

The hymn to Demeter similarly illustrates the possibility of overrepresentation of the  $\bar{a}$ -stem genitives in alpha in a way which does not follow Janko’s scheme at all. *Dem* shows 13 examples of  $-\acute{\alpha}\omega\nu$  and just 3 in  $-\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu/\tilde{\omega}\nu$ , or 81.2%—a higher frequency than the *Odyssey*, but few would consider pushing the date of the hymn up to that of Homer on that basis. The poet of the hymn clearly understands the forms in alpha to be a part of the traditional

singing practice. The most reasonable time for this to have established itself is the point at which QM was rendering the genitives in eta obsolete.

#### Section 10: Typological parallels- the -εσσι dative

While direct evidence for the institution of this policy is impossible, the epics very likely incorporated Aeolic features and generalized them well beyond the specific borrowed forms themselves. The famous -εσσι dative provides a quick case in point. The ending itself was an Aeolic innovation, with some evidence for a spread to NW Greek, and perhaps an independent development in Pamphylian.<sup>195</sup> The ending appears to be the product of a simple analogy whereby the o-stem pattern of nom. pl. -οι and dat. pl. -οιοι appeared to amount to the formation of the dative by adding -σι to the nom. pl. -οι. The consonant stem nom. plurals ending in -εσ were fitted out with an ending in -εσσι. Thus the dat. pl. of “foot,” \*ποδ-σι (Ionic ποσ(σ)ι), appears regularly as πόδεσσι. The ending -εσσι took on a life of its own, overspilling the banks of its original distribution to produce -εσσι datives even for neuters, including s-stems. The purely epic creation ἐπέεσσι(ν) becomes the dominant form for the dative plural of “words,” vastly outnumbering the competing variants ἑπεσ(σ)ι(ν). -εσσι, like -αο, became a token of epic language whose utility in versification allowed it to thrive without regard for vernacular developments. The distribution of these Aeolic forms owes nothing to any Aeolic phase.

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<sup>195</sup> cf. Buck (1955) §107.3.

## Section 11: Typological parallels- the –οιο genitive

The other, and perhaps most marked, token of epic, and one which Janko relies upon for his chronology, is the –οιο genitive. The o-stem genitive remains one of the most vexing questions in the historical development of Greek. While it is beyond the scope of this discussion to untangle all the complications inherent in the divergent developments of the o-stem genitive, one must wade into the waters to evaluate the claims regarding chronology and the alternative morphs. Homer shows variants in –οιο and –ου. The latter can frequently be resolved in the second half of the foot and must be resolved to \*-oo 18x in Homer. The essential point is that the ending in -ου, both contracted and not, is not a further development of -οιο by way of some highly questionable development like:

\*-osyo > \*-ohyo > -oyyo (-οιο, Myc. -(C)o-jo(?)) > \*-oyo > -oo (Hom.) > -ō<sup>196</sup>

The extremely frequent ending –οιο (nearly 1800 examples in Homer) is *not* a pre-form to –ου. The double yod of –οιο is of uncertain origin, and there is no plausible scenario for deletion of a double yod necessary to produce \*-oo (> –ου) from –οιο.<sup>197</sup> West is simply wrong in stating that because “Ionic is likely to have already had contracted –ō by the time it replaced Aeolic as the dominant constituent of epic..., epic –oo (metrically necessary in eighteen places, but restorable in many more) is from Lesbian in its transitional phase

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<sup>196</sup> cf. Lejeune (1972), cf. Wathélet (1970) pp. 134-140, 239-242. I leave aside the possibility that Greek possessed both \*-osyo and \*-oso. The Slavic and Germanic evidence for the latter points rather to an ending \*-eso (OCS česo ‘of which’), and Greek would be unique among IE languages in retaining reflexes of two different endings for the o-stems. As I will argue below, -ου can be derived from –osyo perfectly well, obviating the need for a proposed \*-oso.

<sup>197</sup> cf. Malikouti-Drachman (1975) p. 148, n.29. *Contra* Blümel (1982) pp. 17f., 73, 240ff.; Haug (2002) p. 88-9.



between old Aeolic –οιο and historical Lesbian –ω.”<sup>198</sup> He is hardly alone in this view, however. Dag Haug has recently wrestled with the problem of the o-stem genitive and promoted a similar view:<sup>199</sup>

\*-oo semble être le résultat de la réduction des diphtongues en –i qui est caractéristique du lesbien. Il constitue donc, lui aussi, un éolisme de la langue épique. Qui plus est, il a une structure prosodique unique dont on ne trouve pas d’équivalent dans les désinences de génitif attestées ou reconstruites des un développement \*-osyo > \*-ohyo > \*-ōyo > \*-ōo > -ou où il n’apparaît pas de forme pyrrhique. La présence de \*-oo chez Homère est donc un argument important **en faveur d’une phase éolienne de la langue épique**, [emphasis added] d’autant plus que la rareté des attestations rend moins probable l’hypothèse d’un emprunt par les aèdes au dialecte voisin.

\*-oo seems to be the result of the reduction of the diphthongs in –i which is characteristic of Lesbian. This constitutes an aeolism in the epic language. What is more, it has a unique prosodic structure for which no equivalent is found among the genitive endings attested or reconstructed with a development \*-osyo > \*-ohyo > \*-ōyo > \*-ōo > -ou where a pyrrhic form would not appear. The presence of \*-oo in Homer is therefore an important argument in favor of an Aeolic phase of epic language, especially as the scarcity of the attestations makes less probable the assumption of a borrowing by the singers from the neighboring dialect.

Haug’s derivation presumes, following Kiparsky’s well known treatment,<sup>200</sup> that the consonant cluster in \*-osyo is a first compensatory lengthening (c.l.) environment, producing the familiar c.l. in most dialects but resonant doubling in Aeolic. Lesbian, of course, shows a genitive in –ω, not –οιο;

<sup>198</sup> West (1988) p. 163. To clarify, West is not wrong the –oo could be Lesbian, but rather that –oo is a mid-stage in the development of –οιο to –ov.

<sup>199</sup> Haug (2002) p. 105.

<sup>200</sup> Kiparsky (1967) pp. 619-635.

Kiparsky joins Risch, Porzig and others in claiming that Lesbian owes this ending to Ionian influence, though this is not an attractive solution.<sup>201</sup> Haug rightly chooses to seek a source other than borrowing for Lesbian's genitive in  $-\omega$ , but there is evidence against treating  $*-sy-$  clusters which do not occur at a morpheme boundary as an environment which should trigger doubling/1<sup>st</sup> c.l.<sup>202</sup> The o-stem genitive is so tricky precisely because it is essentially the only sequence in Greek of  $-s+y-$  which is not at a morpheme boundary, and so we are forced to speculate about the treatment.  $\acute{\upsilon}\mu\acute{\eta}\nu$  'membrane' <  $*sy\acute{u}m\acute{e}n$  seems to indicate that the yod was assimilated to h (i.e.  $*(h)h\acute{u}m\acute{e}n$ ), and if this treatment obtains for intervocalic sequences as well, we could expect not a 1<sup>st</sup> c.l. treatment, but the following:

$*-osyo > *-ohyo > *-ohho > *-oho > -oo > -\bar{o} (-ou)$

This treatment would obtain for all dialects. The common Homeric  $-\omicron\iota\omicron$  was instead a Thessalian special development; East Thessalian (Pelasgiotis and Perrhaibia) shows inscriptional evidence for  $-\omicron\iota\omicron$  and  $-\omicron\iota$  with apocope, but also  $-\bar{o}$ .<sup>203</sup> This is a dialect which likewise produced the  $-\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota$  dative, by

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<sup>201</sup> Kiparsky, (1967); Risch (1955), Porzig (1954). Haug (2002) p. 87-8 notes that morphology is especially averse to borrowing, and Lesbian is hardly so full of Ionic elements that we should expect a borrowed ending.

<sup>202</sup> "Assimilation of  $h$  to the following R within a morpheme boundary as well as at a morpheme boundary occurs only in Lesbian and Thessalian. For the other dialects, however, whereas assimilation of  $h$  to R may occur at a morpheme boundary,  $h$  within a morpheme (and this is the case of the genitive singular) assimilates to the preceding vowel, giving a derived long vowel." Malikouti-Drachman (1975) p. 148, n. 29. cf. Wathelet (1970). This derivation rejects Kiparsky's  $*-\bar{o}yo$  on the grounds that the loss of yod requires an ad hoc deletion rule, whereas  $*-\bar{o}ho$  (or, as I prefer,  $*-oho$ ) requires no such rule to produce the expected  $-\bar{o}/$  genitives in all dialects. The dialects of Doris Media, unlike most other Greek dialects, show opposed qualities of long e/o vowels depending on their source: "lengthened e/o from s (and y) next to a resonant have a lower quality, but contractions of e+e and o+o result in raised long e/o," Malikouti-Drachman (1975) p. 140. Theran shows the raised  $-\bar{o}$  in early inscriptions, where it is distinguished from low  $-\omega$ ; indicating that the ending is a contraction product and not the result of compensatory lengthening. cf. Buck (1955) §25.b.

<sup>203</sup> For the distribution by location and century see Blümel (1982) p. 242-3.

perceiving a morpheme boundary in the o-stem dative plural –οἰσι (i.e. –οἰ+σι) to render the analogy of nominative plural to dative plural : –οἰ : –οἰσι :: –εες : –εσσι. We can thus imagine that this dialect would likewise be likely to perceive a morpheme boundary in \*-osyo, again perhaps reinforced by the innovative genitive of the ā-stems in –āyo,<sup>204</sup> and thus this dialect, contrary to all others, would render the doubling treatment not of the 1<sup>st</sup> c.l. but the regular treatment found at morpheme boundaries, e.g. ἰδυῖα (fem. of (F)εἰδώς) < \**widus-ya*.<sup>205</sup>

Why should an ending which was apparently isolated to one geographic region have become the dominant ending in epic unless there was an Aeolic phase of epic? First, hexameter poetry stretches back to the Bronze Age, and the very earliest material in the tradition would have been composed while Common Greek \*-ohyo was still in place and had trochaic scansion. It is not clear what Myc. –o-jo spells, and it is possible that it independently underwent the same development as Thessalian, thus spelling /-oyyo/, though this cannot be confirmed. When the dialects underwent the development proposed above, they possessed for a time –o(h)o, and soon contracted –ō; the inherited material with trochaic scansion was retained, and epic practice may have been to pronounce these sequences as \*-ōyo or \*-ō(h)o, though this is completely speculative. Such a sequence was obviously dead in Ionic, while the Aeolic branch of the tradition soon came to possess a living morph for the genitive singular o-stems which retained trochaic scansion, –οιο. The other

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<sup>204</sup> cf. n. 21 above.

<sup>205</sup> cf. ἔννυμι < \*wes-nu-mi likewise showing resonant doubling outside of Aeolic at a morpheme boundary. Rix (1976), p. 79., cf. Haug (2002) pp. 89-93. My special thanks to Alan Nussbaum for proposing an explanation for the -sy- clusters based on reanalyzed morpheme boundaries.

genitive, -oo and later -ov, was quite productive in epic with around 1000 examples in Homer. When the Aeolic and Ionic traditions came into contact in Asia Minor, Ionians incorporated essentially living Aeolic features to update traditional language which had become obsolete, including the o-stem genitive with trochaic scansion, the -ao -άων genitives, and thematic infinitives in -εμεν replacing obsolete forms in -ε(h)εν, e.g. ἀγορευέμεν, etc.<sup>206</sup>

The picture for chronology is thus, not surprisingly, murky. Genitives in -οιο display a genuinely archaic shape. The Ionian branch of the tradition lost a native morph with the original trochaic shape, but retained sequences requiring the Bronze Age scansion. These forms were naturally replaced with -οιο, and so some of the many -οιο forms found in the epics are archaisms. The Aeolic branch of the tradition had more ready access to a morph which preserved the original scansion. Thus phraseology continued to be developed in Thessaly with the result that the Aeolic tradition likely had more traditional material in -οιο. Lesbian, of course, also had a genitive in -ō, formerly -oo, and so unlike the situation for the ā-stem genitives, Lesbian and Ionic were in agreement. Examples of contracted -ov were part of both the Aeolic and Ionic traditions. Forms in -οιο have some claim to archaism both in terms of metrical shape and in terms of the development and migration of the epic tradition. Colonists who transmitted the tradition to Aeolis sang forms in -οιο not from their native dialect but as holdover forms from the Bronze Age and Thessaly. Both Ionians and Lesbians were in a position, therefore, to perceive -οιο as a marked token of epic diction itself. The -οιο genitive shares a metrical shape with other tokens of epic, including the dative plurals in -εσσι and -

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<sup>206</sup> Chantraine *GHI*, p. 490f.

οισι /-ηισι. -οιο was clearly recycled and spread well beyond simply those passages which were preserved from the Bronze Age. Roughly 50% of all o-stem genitive singulars in Homer show -οιο, while Apollonius Rhodius's *Argonautica* employs the morph more than 60% of the time. Likewise, "there are high totals for -οιο in [the hymns to] *Dem*, *P[ythian]* *Ap[ollo]*, and *Hermes*. This is false archaism..."<sup>207</sup> The propagation and decline in the use of the morph clearly did not track the phonological development of colloquial speech. Instead, the morph was useful in versification and thus spread within epic (or was used in imitation of perceived epic practice). As such, the morph clearly did not behave in a manner from which we can make chronological judgments at all. The policies of the *Kunstsprache* were clearly at odds with colloquial practice. Consequently, the distribution of forms does not fit within the assumptions which underpin Janko's statistical method.

The genitives which appear in -ου developed from a contraction of -οο. As mentioned above, -ου can often be resolved to -οο in the second half of the foot, and Homer shows several examples which must be resolved in order to produce metrical lines, including the well known cases κακομηχάνου ὀκρυόεσσης (Z 344) and ἐπιδημίου ὀκρυόεντος (I 64). As Chantraine points out, ὀκρυόεις does not exist outside of these passages, only κρυόεσσα (E 740) and κρυόεντος (I 2) etc.<sup>208</sup> These passages indirectly continue a sequence \*ἐπιδημίου κρυόεντος where the original text likely read ΕΠΙΔΕΜΙΟΟΚΡΥΟΕΝΤΟΣ, which was metanalyzed.<sup>209</sup>

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<sup>207</sup> Janko (1982) p.53.

<sup>208</sup> Chantraine *GHI*, p. 45.

<sup>209</sup> Spelling concerns also affected the line ending ἀδελφείου καταμένοιο. ἀδελφείου is, in Chantraine's words, "une forme absurde," and he explains the sequence on the basis of an original text reading ΑΔΕΛΦΕΟ ΚΤΑΜΕΝΟΙΟ, which should stand for ἀδελφεόο καταμένοιο. Chantraine *GHI* p. 7.

Securely contracted forms are an innovation in the development of epic, albeit an early one, and forms in –oo are more archaic versions of the same morph. Janko wisely separates his statistics into two categories, the first showing the percentage of –οιο, which we have established is not diagnostic for chronology, and a second set which tests how often –ου is guaranteed (i.e. non-resolvable). His results for Homer and Hesiod are as follows:<sup>210</sup>

Table 9: Distribution of non-οιο ο-stem genitive singulars

Work	*-οι'	*-οο	*-ο'	-ου	Total	% -ου
<i>Il</i>	111	289	237	375	1012	<b>37.0</b>
<i>Od</i>	87	211	173	348	819	<b>42.5</b>
<i>Th</i>	4	6	47	66	123	<b>53.6</b>
<i>Erga</i>	11	4	15	59	89	<b>66.3</b>
<i>Cat</i>	9	13	26	51	99	<b>51.5</b>

By Janko's calculations the *Iliad* shows the lowest level of guaranteed contracted –ου, found either in the first half of the foot and before a consonant, or at line end. In those places where –ου scans long in hiatus before a vowel, we may restore the ending –οιο with elision, e.g. the line ending apparently using both genitives side by side, ἐκ πεδίου ἄνεμοιο | (Θ549), may represent \*ἐκ πεδίοι'(ο) ἄνεμοιο.<sup>211</sup> These sequences are ambiguous and must be removed from the calculus. Also, final long vowels and diphthongs are

<sup>210</sup> cf. *HHH* p. 54, table 15. I leave aside the hymns and the *Aspis* for now, though the total number of forms is far greater than for the ā-stem genitives. I also have set aside examples involving digamma; Janko presents the number of cases involving digamma but does not include these forms in his calculations. The column labeled \*-οι' refers to those cases where we find –ου in hiatus but not shortened; in such cases we may posit –οιο with elision to alleviate the hiatus.

<sup>211</sup> cf. Chantraine *GHI* p. 46.

regularly shortened before another vowel in hexameter; as such, it is impossible in a sequence such as παρὰ δ' ἀλφίτου ἱεροῦ ἀκτὴν (Λ 631), to determine if we should treat the sequence as showing later contracted –ου with correption or rather as resolvable \*-oo with elision, i.e. παρὰ δ' ἀλφίτο' ἱερό' ἀκτὴν.<sup>212</sup> These forms present a different sort of ambiguity, and though they may reflect the archaic disyllabic morph, they may just as well have entered the tradition after contraction and versified in the usual way. Finally, simply because we may be able to resolve –ου into \*-oo in the second half of the foot, it is rash to think that all of these forms are in fact resolvable, i.e. that they entered the tradition before contraction of \*-oo. In fact, Homer shows only one example of –ου in the second half of the fifth foot, δῆμου φῆμις (ξ 239), where we would expect to resolve –ου to –oo. The figures as Janko has tallied them, therefore, are of little value since they measure the number of secure contracted forms per the total number of contracted and ambiguous (save 18 examples, of 501) examples. Setting aside examples of \*-οι' completely and treating examples of \*-ο' as suspect we find the following percentages:

Table 10: Distribution of non-οιο ο-stem genitives excluding ambiguous examples

Work	*-oo	(*-ο')	-ου	% -ου (including *-ο')	% -ου (excluding *-ο')
<i>Il</i>	289	(237)	375	41.6	(56.5)
<i>Od</i>	211	(173)	348	47.5	(62.2)
<i>Th</i>	6	(47)	66	55.5	(91.7)
<i>Erga</i>	4	(15)	59	75.6	(93.7)
<i>Cat</i>	13	(26)	51	56.7	(79.7)

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<sup>212</sup> Chantraine *GHI* p. 46.

Here the trend does not reverse between the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, as we saw for the ā-stem masculine genitive singulars, but Hesiod, in particular *Theogony*, shows a very high proportion of forms showing correption/elision. We have seen that this method of counting, measuring archaisms to innovations, is not a reliable metric (especially when the “archaisms” are really just ambiguous forms!). If we compare the number of secure contracted forms per thousand lines we find the following distribution:

<i>Iliad</i>	23.9
<i>Odyssey</i>	28.8
<i>Theogony</i>	65.4
<i>Erga</i>	71.2

The *Catalog of Women* is too fragmentary to make such a comparison (since we lack so many whole lines). By this metric as well, Hesiod’s practice is demonstrably different from Homer’s; Hesiod shows more o-stem genitives per line *in toto* than does Homer (199 per mil. in the *Theogony* versus 134 per mil. in the *Iliad*). Likewise, the poems of Homer are more like one another than to any other poem, perhaps bolstering the case for single authorship of the two monumental epics. The tradition of Hesiod’s poems does seem to have been more innovative with regards to contracted –ov than was Homer’s tradition; whether that reflects the time of composition, or rather the point at which a given tradition got started is unclear.



## Section 12: Conclusions

The evidence for an Aeolic branch of epic poetry is strong. The evidence that this Aeolic branch preceded Ionian epic, which either never existed before the transfer from Aeolic bards or had died out prior to contact with Aeolic song, is much less strong. Even if one were persuaded that the Aeolic tradition predominated for some time while the Ionian tradition remained less productive, the evidence for a punctual transfer of this tradition is non-existent. Janko's method of determining relative chronology among the songs of the epos depends crucially upon Aeolic forms being *de facto* archaisms, but we have seen that this is not sound practice; even West admits that any transfer would have taken place over time. Also this transfer of poetic material would have been ongoing after contact between Aeolic and Ionic traditions;<sup>213</sup> as such, a period of diffusion ensued in Asia Minor after contact, whereby a number of living Aeolic forms replaced obsolete forms in the Ionian tradition. We have not touched on all of the forms, or often absence of forms, that Aeolic phase proponents invoke to bolster their case.<sup>214</sup> We have seen instead the process by which certain morphological categories come to have an Aeolic appearance while other categories retain Ionic phonology. Szemerényi's formulation of the principle proclaimed that "whenever the normal Ionic development would have led to forms non-existent in Ionic, the speech-form of neighboring Aeolic was adopted. This is to assume a certain

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<sup>213</sup> The many epic features in Lesbian lyric poetry attests to the two-way nature of the exchange.

<sup>214</sup> Most prominent are the Aeolic personal pronouns and the lack of assibilated \*ποσί for ποτί. Regarding the latter, Wyatt points out that we have no direct evidence that the form \*ποσί ever gained any foothold in Ionic, though there is convincing evidence that the guaranteed monosyllabic πρός is a recent innovation. (Janko (1979)). We find the disyllabic form ἔτι frequently in the epics; ποτί may have undergone the same frequent restoration of -τι within epic language (as Ionic generalized πρός).

amount of influence from Aeolic, but not a full-scale Aeolic stage in the development of epic poetry.”<sup>215</sup> This formulation accounts well for the facts surrounding the *ā*-stem genitives and the *o*-stem genitives, as we have seen.

It is no surprise that Meister chose to organize his *Die homerische Kunstsprache* by morphological category, for as we have seen, and will see again in Chapter 3, factors beyond the regular changes in the vernacular affect epic diction; these factors tend to have a morphological and metrical/formulaic component which can supersede the colloquial habits of the singer. This fact complicates any chronological claims based on the proportions of archaic and innovative features. All of the factors that Aeolic phase proponents bring forth bolster the case for Aeolic epic poetry in contact with Ionic, but the case for a punctual transfer of an Aeolic phase of epic to Ionian bards, a necessary condition for Janko’s definition of archaism to obtain for the *ā*- and *o*-stem genitives, is not convincing. Diffusion of epic material, even if only in the period after “first contact” between Aeolian and Ionian bards, provides the best framework for understanding the development of epic language, even if it does not provide solid chronological benchmarks.

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<sup>215</sup> Szemerényi (1959) p. 193.

### Part III: The Paradox of Archaism

#### Chapter 7

##### Section 1: The paradox of archaism

In previous sections we have examined the oral-formulaic background of the hexameter tradition and the implications of the dialect mixture that obtains in the epics. Against this background has always stood the question of archaism versus innovation in the epic language, and in this section we will examine the question of archaism directly with an eye towards the implications for relative chronology in the Greek epos.

Linguistic innovations, by definition, reflect chronological development. A line containing a metrically guaranteed neglect of digamma could only have been composed after initial /w-/ had been lost in the epic dialect.<sup>216</sup> That line, that passage, and indeed the entire poem containing the innovation is securely dated after the sound change. Unfortunately for the relative dating of the songs of the hexameter tradition, there are no linguistic features whose mere presence in one song or other securely signals a later date than the other songs. The verses of Homer, Hesiod, and the hymns all neglect digamma to some degree, all show the effects of Ionic quantitative metathesis, all show some neo-Ionic features. The differences are only a matter of degree.

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<sup>216</sup> I refer to the 'epic dialect' rather than (East) Ionic mainly because of the biographical tradition regarding Hesiod. The evidence from Hesiod presents a complicated picture. Though Boeotian retained initial digamma down to the third century B.C. in inscriptional dialects, Hesiod's poetry neglects the sound more frequently than Homer. If the composer of the *Theogony* and *Erga* is in fact Boeotian, he neglects digamma in violation of the practice of his presumed native dialect. He does not sing epic verse in his native dialect, but in a very real sense no *aoidos* ever does. Bards sing in the language appropriate to the song they are singing. Meister (1923, p. 199) notes that other renowned Boeotians, such as Pindar and Corinna often neglect the sound in verse as well. The question of Hesiod's digamma is treated in the Appendix.

While innovative features are potentially useful for uncovering relative chronology, measuring their frequency presents problems because of the nature of the counterpart to innovations- archaisms.

Archaic features in the epic language present us with a series of paradoxes. The presence of early, obsolete language reflects the fact that the epics have a very long history behind them. The epic language, and the epics themselves, are indeed very old, but the songs are only as old as their youngest features, not their oldest. Indeed, the very presence of an archaism, an uncontracted o-stem genitive singular ἐπιδημίου at *Iliad* IX. 64,<sup>217</sup> for example, reflects the power of the tradition to retain language over generations, but this archaism in no way signals that the text to which it belongs comes from so early a date. Archaic language can be preserved, and where it is useful can even be spread beyond its original distribution. This is almost certainly the case for the o-stem genitive singular in -οιο,<sup>218</sup> for which some unknowable number of the examples may reflect a very early form \*-*ohyo* still scanning as a trochee, but many other examples result from the adoption of this feature by the bards as a token of epic diction.

When trying to assess the chronological relationship of the songs using the level of linguistic archaism and innovation displayed, we admit certain assumptions. Even if we set aside concerns that archaisms are ultimately non-diagnostic for chronology for language in general,<sup>219</sup> a chronological argument based on the level of innovation versus archaism in the developing epic

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<sup>217</sup> See above, pp. 93-4, for discussion of this archaism.

<sup>218</sup> See above, pp. 88ff.

<sup>219</sup> The utility of innovations, rather than archaisms, as a diagnostic tool for the development of languages, and thus their comparison and grouping, is fundamental to historical linguistics as a whole.

corpus depends on a linear increase in innovations at the expense of archaisms. That is, over time innovations are incorporated from the vernacular into epic singing and thus increase in frequency while archaisms are replaced and leave the tradition. In doing so, the epic language would track the development of the vernacular, albeit with some degree of lag time due to the conservatism of epic singing. Parry argued that the poetic language indeed developed on the whole neither faster nor slower than the spoken language, but at the level of an individual, countable feature, we may observe phenomena which run counter to this tenet.

A case in point for the deployment of archaic versus innovative features in the epic will be the much-studied initial digamma. We will see that though its frequency makes it amenable to statistical study, accurate data for the feature are made problematic by the nature of the epic language. It can be demonstrated that the apparent deployment of digamma does not in fact track the linear development of the vernacular, but rather is conditioned by the inner metric of the hexameter. I will build on the insights of Solmsen regarding digamma and the inner metric.<sup>220</sup> Once we have established that the deployment of digamma is largely conditioned by the versificational technique of the epos itself, we will examine the repetition of material, both with and without digamma as a check on accurate counting. Finally, we will observe instances of the spread of apparent observance of digamma built on analogy with sequences featuring hiatus or lengthening, that is, models left over *after* the loss of initial /w-/. In this last instance, the new diction takes a shape tantamount to that of an archaism, i.e. observing digamma, but such a sequence depends on a metrical incongruity left over *after* the loss of initial

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<sup>220</sup> Solmsen, F. (1901), pp.51ff.

/w-/. Thus, such an apparent observance of digamma is to be securely dated after the loss of digamma in the vernacular. This is by far the most interesting facet of the paradox of archaism in the epic language, and the most difficult to demonstrate. Its implications are stark. Even if we presume to count only innovative forms as the metric of chronology, leaving aside non-diagnostic archaisms altogether, we will be forced to make hard choices as to the treatment of these equally innovative forms in archaic dress.

The mechanics by which oral poets constructed their lines obscures the treatment of etymologically w- initial words. This manifests itself for both hiatus and apparent lengthening by position. At certain points in the line the poets, while not necessarily inviting hiatus, chose to give the exigencies of oral verse-making precedence over strict metrical polish.<sup>221</sup> Likewise, certain positions show a high frequency of *brevis in longo*, if not outright tolerance for the feature. When these facts are acknowledged beside the apparent treatment of digamma, it becomes extremely difficult to distinguish a "legitimate" observance resulting from a preservation of real phonological initial consonant /w-/ from an observance which results simply from the metrical policies of the poets.

Janko offers only a very brief treatment of this extremely complicated situation. He offers some limited guidance on which words he regards as etymologically /w-/ initial and some indication of what environments he omits

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<sup>221</sup> We can compare Parry's formulation from his second thesis (=1971, p.196): "The bard, accustomed to expressing his thought through the medium of traditional expressions, will often have to choose between using two formulae which perfectly express his thought but whose junction entails a metrical fault, and renouncing formulae to make up expressions of his own. Given this fundamental contradiction between the rhythm and formulary technique, we can see what a temptation it was for the bard- a temptation unknown to a poet with an individual style- to join together two formulae even when he had to commit a metrical fault to do so." The story goes perhaps even a bit further, as we will see below.

because of ambiguity, but does not present the details.<sup>222</sup> He finds that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* each neglect digamma at a rate between 17 and 18 percent of the time. He does break this down by individual book in his appendix, where the range reveals that the epics are hardly uniform throughout in this regard<sup>223</sup>, but even this misses the more fundamental question regarding our statistics. Can we really distinguish older phraseology from newer? Janko states in his conclusions that we should expect “old formulae and archaisms to diminish in frequency through the generations, as innovative phraseology and language creeps in.” (189) While this seems at first patently true, accurately distinguishing archaisms and innovations within the songs themselves proves difficult. The proposition suffers a serious blow when it is demonstrated that factors other than the continual assimilation of epic language to the vernacular, on the one hand, and retention of useful formulaic language, on the other, caused epic diction to update in certain instances, but to retain and even propagate archaic looking features elsewhere. Epic did not develop in a linear way in this regard.

## Section 2: The distribution of observance and neglect of digamma

Words with original initial w- occur in a wide variety of metrical shapes, and thus we could expect these words to localize in all metrical

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<sup>222</sup> By the “neglect” of digamma, one refers to the elision of a final short vowel, the shortening of a final long vowel or diphthong, or the maintenance (i.e. non-lengthening) of a light, closed syllable before a vowel initial word which etymologically once began with /w-/; conversely, the “observance” of digamma manifests as hiatus after final short vowels, non-shortening of final long vowels and diphthongs, and the lengthening by position of final light, closed syllables before a formerly digammated vowel initial word. The Appendix gives a detailed explanation of my own method of the counting of digamma including where it differs from that of Janko.

<sup>223</sup> For the *Iliad*, Janko finds a range of 7-27.7% neglect, and 5.7-31.6 for the *Odyssey*.

positions within the line, and indeed they do. However, the rate of neglect varies significantly among the various positions. The distribution of neglects of digamma for the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are shown in the following table and graph.

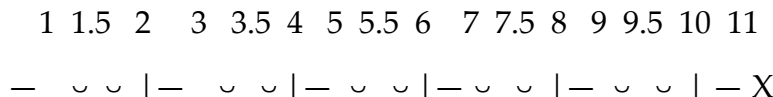


Table 11: Percent neglect of digamma sorted by line position<sup>224</sup>

	<i>Iliad</i>			<i>Odyssey</i>		
	Observ.	Neg.	% neg	Observ.	Neg.	% neg
Pos 1 <sup>225</sup>	17	22	56.4	9	22	71
Pos 1.5	45	6	11.8	20	11	35.5
Pos 2	45	24	34.8	37	24	39.3
Pos 3	119	32	21.2	114	19	14.3
Pos 3.5	76	12	13.6	68	17	20
Pos 4	102	5	4.7	129	10	7.2

<sup>224</sup> The figures used here are based on my own count of digamma in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. In the Appendix, I describe my method, including a full list of words I hold to be etymologically /w-/ initial. While no set of standards will please everyone, I have endeavored at least to make my method as transparent as possible. My exact count resembles, but does not equal, the respective counts of Solmsen, Chantraine, and Janko, whose counts likewise are similar to but do not equal one another. The sample size is certainly large enough that minor disagreements about what and how to count will not seriously undermine my argument.

<sup>225</sup> I will refer to a word's placement by the position which precedes it, since that is where the observance or neglect of digamma in fact occurs. The presence or absence of w- is ambiguous at line beginning, so position 1 refers to words beginning with the second syllable of the line, e.g. B 213 #δς ἔπεα φρεσίν... where w- makes position, or the repeated line beginning # ὄφρ' εἶπω which neglects digamma by elision.



Table 11 (continued)

	<i>Iliad</i>			<i>Odyssey</i>		
	Observ.	Neg.	% neg	Observ.	Neg.	% neg
Pos 5	109	15	12.1	86	15	14.9
Pos 5.5	103	45	30.4	94	34	26.6
Pos 6	53	28	34.6	26	12	32.4
Pos 7	73	5	6.4	69	8	10.4
Pos 7.5	0	0	-	0	3	100
Pos 8	202	31	13.7	193	37	16.1
Pos 9	32	8	20	42	10	19.2
Pos 9.5	196	51	20.6	175	44	20.1
Pos 10	156	16	8.8	204	18	8.1

These results are reflected in the following graph:

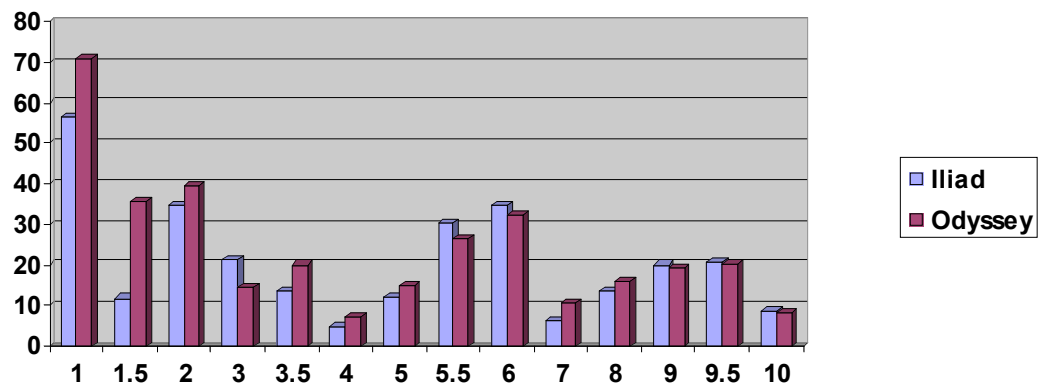


Figure 4: Percent neglect of digamma sorted by line position

Several things become immediately obvious. First, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* show very close correspondence to one another at almost all positions. The difference only diverges noticeably at positions 1 and 1.5. Clearly, however,

different positions show significantly different levels of neglect. This uneven distribution provides us with the first clue that the deployment of digamma is not simply conditioned by phonology and preservation. The most observant positions in both poems appear to be 4, 7, and 10. Neither 4 nor 10 is a significant juncture point for linking up formulae. Put another way, words localized at these positions will tend strongly to be line-segment internal. Words following position 4 will generally be within phrases stretching from line beginning to the penthemimeral or trochaic caesura of the third foot, and words localized at the beginning of the final foot, i.e. after position 10, will tend to be in an adonic sequence closing the line, e.g. οἶνον in the sequence αἶθοπα οἶνον (8x Il.), or in a sequence running from the hepthemimeral caesura to line end. Many of these line closing sequences are patently traditional.

Hiatus predominates over lengthening as the manner of observance. Of 1326 observances of digamma in the *Iliad*, 1151 are by hiatus, or 86.8%; hiatus makes up 90.1% of the observances in the *Odyssey*. Of course, lengthening is more restricted in its line placement in that it cannot occur at the trochaic caesura of any foot (i.e. 1.5, 3.5, etc.). Even noting this limitation, we find that observance by lengthening is quite strictly curtailed even further. Lengthening by way of "observed digamma" is hardly ever used to create the second long of a spondaic foot. Indeed, this practice is never violated in the fifth foot in either epic. Sorted by line position, we find the following distribution for observed digamma in Homer in the table and chart below:

Table 12: Manner of observance of digamma in Homer

	<i>Iliad</i>			<i>Odyssey</i>		
	Length.	Hiatus	% Length.	Length.	Hiatus	% Length.
Pos 1	5	12	29.4	0	9	0
Pos 1.5	-	45	-	-	20	-
Pos 2	4	41	8.9	1	36	2.7
Pos 3	56	63	47.1	39	76	34.2
Pos 3.5	-	76	-	-	68	-
Pos 4	1	101	1	3	126	2.3
Pos 5	56	53	51.4	40	46	46.5
Pos 5.5	-	103	-	-	94	-
Pos 6	1	52	1.9	0	26	0
Pos 7	26	48	35.6	22	47	31.9
Pos 7.5	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pos 8	2 (?)	198	1	0	193	0
Pos 9	24	8	75	21	21	50
Pos 9.5	-	196	-	-	175	-
Pos 10	0	156	0	0	204	0

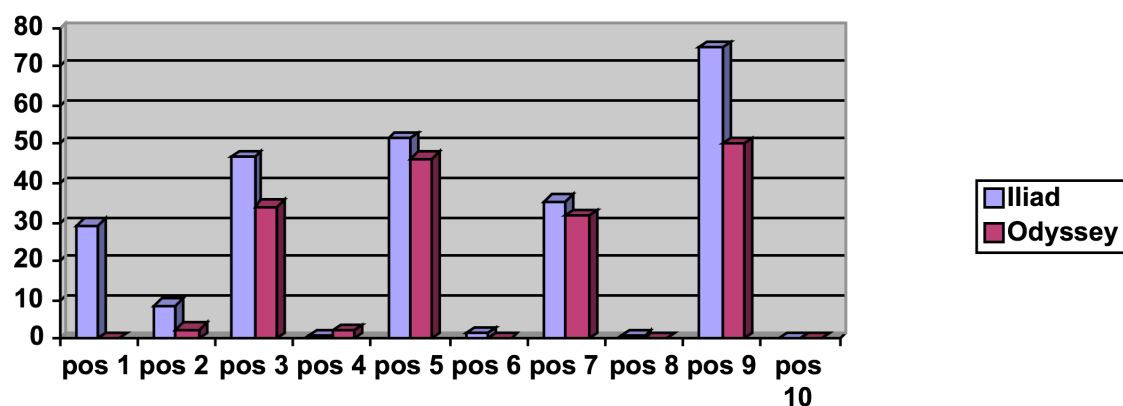


Figure 5: Manner of observation of digamma in Homer

Here we can graphically appreciate the observation of Solmsen regarding the observance of digamma in creating spondees. The *Iliad* “observes” digamma 556 times at even numbered positions (= foot ends), but at these positions, digamma is observed by making position maximally twelve times in both epics. In fact, a closer inspection of the apparent exceptions reveals that they can generally be better explained in other ways.

### Section 3: Spondees created by position with digamma

Since they are so few, we will address these unusual lines first. A spondee is created before a digammated word in the line

Ἑκτορ, εἶδος ἄριστε, μάχης ἄρα πολλὸν ἐδεύεο (P 142 ).

As Edwards notes, “this is the insult Hector himself has hurled twice at Paris”<sup>226</sup> here in the mouth of Glaukos. The comparandum is the line opening Δύσπαρι εἶδος ἄριστε found at Γ 39 (=N 769), with εἶδος ἀρίστη(ν) used elsewhere in the *Iliad* exclusively as a compliment for women. After the vocative, we have essentially a syntactic break, and one which may even entail a slight pause. Given the comparandum and the context, the poet seems to be innovating with a touch of irony and even humor as Glaukos obliquely invokes Hector's effete brother. The phrase is never repeated and does not have the appearance of a traditional name-epithet collocation. Moreover, the vocative for Hector is heavily localized at line beginning (31 of 35 examples in the *Iliad*) and the vocative precedes a consonant 14 times in this position. Thus, there is ample support for the *brevis in longo* reading and very little to suggest lengthening by digamma, especially given the strong aversion to the creation of spondees through lengthening.

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<sup>226</sup> Edwards, Mark W. *The Iliad: A commentary*. vol. V: Books 17-20, p. 76.

For the next line,

οὐ γὰρ οἶδ' εἰ ἔτι σφιν ὑπότροπος ἴξομαι αὖτις, (Z 367)

we could compare the similar

οὐ μὰν οἶδ' εἰ αὖτε κακορραφίης ἀλεγεινῆς (O 16)

where digamma is ambiguous. Also, οὐ γὰρ scans as a spondee frequently in the first foot: 35 of 51 examples in the *Iliad*, 50 of 62 examples in the *Odyssey*. There are, however, no examples of lengthening in hiatus at this position, the closest being οὐ γὰρ τ' αἶψα at γ 147.<sup>227</sup> Again in this position we find

ἔνθεν οἰνίζοντο κάρη κομόωντες Ἀχαιοί, (H 472)

We find ἔνθεν scanned as a spondee four other times in the *Iliad* and 14x in the *Odyssey*, always before a consonant. Words of the shape — — — ∪ are rather heavily localized at this position.<sup>228</sup> There is no definitive evidence against recognizing this as an observance of digamma making position, but the parallels for ἔνθεν as a spondee in first position would bolster a case for treating this as a *brevis in longo*.

Finally at this position in the *Iliad*, we find

υῖες Ἰφίτου μεγαθύμου Ναυβολίδαο, B 518

The underlined portion should be scanned — — — ∪ ∪ —. The archaic scansion of \*Ἰφίτοο, — ∪ ∪ —, <sup>229</sup> may point to an especially early composition of this line, as it is one of the rare examples of non-contracted \*-oo recoverable from the text. Aristarchus read υῖέες with apparent neglect of digamma, and

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<sup>227</sup> There are several examples of οὐ γὰρ scanning as a spondee before the pronoun οἱ, including a repeated line οὐ γὰρ οἱ πάρα νῆες ἐπήρετμοι καὶ ἑταῖροι, (3x Od.) cf. οὐ γὰρ μοι πάρα νῆες ἐπήρετμοι καὶ ἑταῖροι, (ε 141.)

<sup>228</sup> 66.7% in the *Iliad*, 70% in the *Odyssey* by O'Neill's count, (1942) p. 146.

<sup>229</sup> cf. Chantraine *GHI* p.45.

also judged this to be a case of artificial lengthening, i.e. \*Ἰφίτου, i.e. — ∪ ∪ — — —.<sup>230</sup> There is no need for such a supposition. The Aristarchean reading may give an insight into the development of the text, the reworking that occurred during the transmission of the text, and alternatives derived from multiple performances. After the loss of digamma, a poet could easily substitute the dactylic υἰέες, but the anomalous shape of Ἰφίτου was harder to replace. A poet could perhaps resort to the metrical lengthening described above, though there are no examples of such a scansion for Ἰφίτος. The name would of course be disfavored in a variety of positions since it would form a cretic in the oblique or before a consonant without metrical lengthening or the archaic genitive -oo, but we do not have evidence for metrical lengthening (unless here). The evidence seems, then, to indicate that this is an example of a truly archaic line, with digamma making position in the second half of the first foot, an uncontracted genitive in \*-oo (μεγαθύμου could likewise be resolved), and the genitive ending -ao with archaic scansion. This seems more likely than the young view of the line, requiring υἰέες plus neglect of digamma, metrical lengthening, and contracted -ou. Furthermore, there is no motivation for the vulgate to generate a reading υἱέξ Ἰφίτου if the line were a late coinage using υἰέες. This line apparently dates from a period when consonantal value of w- was hardly anomalous; such lines were perhaps especially disfavored by the tradition, and fell out earlier than other sequences.

At position 2, the *Odyssey* has only

οἶνον οἶνοχοεῦντες ἐνὶ χρυσέοις δεπάεσσιν. (γ 472)

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<sup>230</sup> Kirk, Commentary ad loc., p. 200.

We do find other examples of οἶνον at line beginning scanning as a spondee before a consonant, but the word just as frequently scans — ∪. The phrase occurs only once, but given the close syntactic and lexical connection of the opening words, we cannot discount the possibility that this is a preservation. **οἶνοχοεῦντες does show an irresolvable contraction product, and so the phrase cannot belong to the earliest stratum of composition, but the genuine working of digamma cannot be excluded.**

At position four, we find only one observance by position in the *Iliad*, and three in the *Odyssey*. The one example in the *Iliad*,

κεῖται ἀνὴρ ὄν ἴσον ἐτίομεν Ἑκτορι δίῳ (E467)

does not have an obvious parallel, but in the same book we find ἀνὴρ ὄν in the same position with ὄν lengthened by position:

εἰ δ' ὃ γ' ἀνὴρ ὄν φημι δαΐφρων Τυδέος υἱὸς (E 184).

This does not provide much evidence in favor of ὄν necessarily being a *brevis in longo* and E 467 could therefore be a real violation of the principle.

Similarly, beside the sequence

εὖ μὲν τόξον οἶδα ἐϋξοον ἀμφαφάσθαι (Θ 215)

where an observed digamma makes position, we find a metrically similar line beginning ἐνθα δὲ τόξον κεῖτο (Φ 11); the scansion is not easily dismissed. The sequence is still basically anomalous, perhaps old.

Finally for this position, Θ 169 shows the reading

ἄλλος μὲν γὰρ εἶδος ἀκιδνότερος πέλει ἀνὴρ

which apparently violates the tendency, but the reading is not secure. The tradition also shows the reading γὰρ τ' εἶδος, where the use of epic τε makes this line effectively ambiguous. We find the same situation for

ὦ φίλοι, οὐ γὰρ ἴδμεν ὅπη ζόφος οὐδ' ὅπη ἠώς (κ 190)

which also shows an alternative reading with epic τε, οὐ γὰρ τ' ἴδμεν.

These lines are not, then, secure examples of violation of the tendency.

At position 6, as we expect, observance is almost exclusively by hiatus, to avoid the creation of spondees. The only exception is

οὔτε θεῶν πρότερος τὸν εἴσεται οὔτ' ἀνθρώπων (A 548)

which does not have any clear model to explain away the lengthening and may indeed be old.

At position 8, creation of spondees is extremely rare with any consonant, and this tendency is borne out with digamma as well. For the apparent violation

οἱ τ' ἀμφ' ἱμερτὸν Τιταρησσὸν ἔργα νέμοντο (B 751)

van Thiel reads

οἱ τ' ἀμφ' ἱμερτὸν Τιταρήσιον ἔργ' ἐνέμοντο

Τιταρησσὸν is actually a conjecture of Bentley who was, of course, among the first and most adventurous in his attempts to restore digamma. The manuscript reading does not actually make a spondee in the fourth foot. The second example at this position is harder to remove:

νῆες δ' ἐκ Λήμνοιο παρέσταν οἶνον ἄγουσαι (H 467)

This appears to be the rare violation of the poetic practice. The verb form παρέσταν is repeated nowhere else in epic. This example serves as one of the doubly rare occurrences in the hexameter, both making position in the fourth foot and doing so with an observed digamma. Not suprisingly, neither epic shows a spondee in the fifth foot created by position with digamma.

This pattern, bordering on a rule, is a significant finding by Solmsen. It undermines the notion that the observance of digamma relies simply on the



phonology of the epic language at the time a given phrase entered the tradition. To be sure, the hexameter prefers dactyls to spondees, and diereses are not especially common except after position 8, but at other positions there is no prohibition against making the second half of a foot long by position except with digamma. One implication could be that those few examples which show a digamma triggering a spondee are indeed old, and from a time when initial w- was simply another consonant. If that is the case then we have a handful of archaic lines in this group along with a number of examples owing nothing to the observance of the digamma. The more important point comes from the examples which show the effects of the meter and localization of particular phrases corroborated by models from other lines. The pressures to localize a given phrase in a given position can overcome the aversion to other metrical anomalies. In his treatment of the meter of Homer, West suggests that "epic poets were more concerned with fluent and coherent utterance than with polished versification."<sup>231</sup> We will see that certain line positions tolerate hiatus or *brevis in longo* with certain words and phrases, and thus an apparent "observance" of digamma at such a position is ultimately useless to determine whether a given phrase is a preservation by the tradition. The most likely place to find archaisms preserved is within formulae, and the most securely formula-internal positions in the line are after position 4 and position 10, which respectively lead to the major caesurae of the line or to line end. It is hardly surprising to find a high rate of observance of digamma in the archaic language preserved at these positions.

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<sup>231</sup> West, M. "Homer's Meter." in *A New Companion to Homer*, I. Morris and B. Powell, eds., p.232.

#### Section 4: Correlation of the inner metric of the hexameter and preservation of digamma

The fact that a high rate of observance is indeed found at positions 4 and 10 further confirms the correlation of the inner metric of the hexameter and the deployment of digamma. The high rate of observance at these positions, over 90% in both epics at both positions, derives mainly from preservation within formulae, as a brief overview of the salient evidence from these positions will demonstrate.

A word immediately after position 4 begins the third foot of the line, and thus it is nearly always within phrases which culminate at the trochaic caesura. Indeed, of over 250 examples with etymological initial digamma, all but four are two syllable trochees. As such, the material found at this position consists almost exclusively of words syntactically connected to what precedes culminating at position 5.5, or at the penthemimeral caesura in three monosyllabic cases in the *Iliad*.

There are few neglects. In the *Iliad*, four result from shortening and one from elision. Of these, τοὶ δ' ἰδρωῖ Λ 621 shows a form of ἰδρώς, a word which despite its presumed etymology never observes digamma in the epics. We would expect an initial \*hw- in Proto-Greek (cf. Eng. *sweat*, Skt. *svid-*), but the epics provide no evidence for this. There could have been an alternation in PIE between initial \*sw- and \*s-, or the word, perhaps considered vulgar and unsuited to heroic verse early on, may have simply entered the tradition after the loss of digamma. At X 263 we find a neglect by shortening:

οὐδὲ λύκοι τε καὶ ἄρνες όμόφρονα θυμόν ἔχουσιν

The line is missing from at least one papyrus, and digamma could be easily restored by deleting τε. Alternatively, the line has a strong gnomic flavor which might lead one to speculate that the line emanates from a different branch of the epic tradition from heroic song. The phrase ἔσσεται ἡδός occurs as a neglect in two lines of the *Iliad*, one of which is repeated in the *Odyssey*. Thus, the neglects at this position are perhaps even slightly rarer than the raw numbers suggest.

Conversely, the rate of observance is high. The number is somewhat inflated, however, given the degree of repetition not just of whole and half lines but particular localized phrases. In the *Iliad*, there are 102 secure observances, of which 82 are distinct. In the *Odyssey*, there are 129 observances, of which 97 are distinct; also, the *Odyssey* repeats the phrase ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι τόδε εἰπὲ καὶ ἀτρεκέως κατάλεξον, 13x verbatim, a full 10% of the total observances. Within this group of ostensibly unique sequences are a number of related phrases which are localized here and frequently repeated. For example, the *Iliad* shows 33 distinct examples of a two syllable preposition plus ἄστυ (e.g. προτὶ ἄ-, κατὰ ἄ-, etc.) at this position; the *Odyssey* has 16 such phrases. There are numerous other repeated phrases here, but the main point is that this position hosts numerous traditional phrases where observance, almost exclusively by hiatus, is the rule. We find a nearly identical situation at position 10.

Position 10 is very observant of digamma. Words found here are often part of an adonic sequence or similar phrase, and so it is not surprising to find both a low level of neglect (8.8% Il., 8.1% Od.) and a high level of repetition.

The fifth foot is formed by a spondee less often than any other, so it is no surprise to find no observances by lengthening at this position. There are also relatively few neglects in dactylic fifth feet. In the *Iliad* we find 15 secure neglects, plus 11 trivially restored. 5 of the 15 secure neglects involve ἰδῶς, which, as mentioned above, never observes digamma and should perhaps be put aside from the counting. Another of the neglects is a clear adaptation of a traditional phrase which does observe digamma: δέπας μελιηδέος οἴνου (Σ 545, γ 46) and δέπας ἡδέος οἴνου (γ 51) five lines later neglect digamma, indeed the latter does so twice. These phrases are obviously related to the traditional phrase μελιηδέα οἶνον (1x Il., 4x Od. at this position)<sup>232</sup>, as well as ἡδέϊ οἶνω (2x Od.), not to mention the frequent αἶθοπα οἶνον and αἶθοπι οἶνω.<sup>233</sup> The neglects were necessarily coined after the loss of digamma, and given their close proximity likely coined at the same time, but the availability of the flexible system of phraseology which happens to observe digamma of course means that poets were deploying and redeploying apparently archaic material well after digamma had lost consonantal force.

A number of repeated phrases which observe digamma demonstrate the role of traditional language in the high level of observance at this position. πόδας ὠκέα Ἴρις and ποδήνεμος ὠκέα Ἴρις together occur 18x in the *Iliad* (though the expressions do not figure into the *Odyssey*). At Ψ 198 the mss. show a neglect ὠκέα δ' Ἴρις, (which van Thiel and the OCT read) but Bentley restores the digamma to read ὠκα δὲ Ἴρις for which there is a

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<sup>232</sup> cf. Hoekstra's discussion of this pair in the context of declined formulae, *Modifications*, p. 48-9.

<sup>233</sup> We find hiatus before ἡδέϊ, and thus ἡδέϊ οἶνω does not violate economy with the otherwise metrically equivalent αἶθοπι οἶνω

papyrus (979) in support. Other frequently repeated phrases at this position include:

μήδετο ἔργα	6x Il., 0x Od.
δαίμονι ἴσος	9x Il., 0x Od.
αἶθοπα οἶνον (& dat.) <sup>234</sup>	11x Il., 8x Od.
εἶματα ἔσσε, ἔσθην, etc.	5x Il., 10x Od.
ὅπως ἔσται τάδε ἔργα,	5x Il., 2x Od.
ἐνὶ οἴκῳ	3x Il., 34x Od. (!)
οὐδέ τι οἶδε	1x Il., 4x Od.

Positions 4 and 10 (typically segment-internal) have vanishingly few neglects, and preserve and repeat a great deal of traditional language which is very observant of digamma due to their place in the inner metric of the hexameter. Amid so much repetition, we should not expect these positions to be indicative of the state of development of the epic language as a whole.

#### Section 5: The illusion of archaism at line segment junctures

So far, we have examined the effects of digamma at the diaereses of the line, in particular the high rates of preservation within line-segments at positions 4 and 10. We turn now to the juncture points where borders between line-segments frequently lie. At these points in the hexameter, the observance or neglect of digamma between adjacent words should often not be ascribed to

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<sup>234</sup> For this phrase at this position we can observe

**οὐτ' ἀνδρῶν πίνεσκεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ αἶθοπα οἶνον, (Π 226)**

which shows the fixity of the expression, even in the face of hiatus at pos 8, (though we might read αὐτοῖ' αἶθοπα with elision).

the same kind of preservation which is found line-segment internally as with the examples above. At the positions previously examined, observance of digamma mostly resulted from the use and re-use of traditional phrases. At the juncture of phrases, on the other hand, some observances of digamma may still be due to preservation, but others are clearly the result of line segmentation itself. We find as a case in point position 5, the penthemimeral caesura, which is among the line positions most observant of digamma, but where observances are among the least convincing as examples of historical phonology and preservation. Accordingly, we begin to see the paradox of archaism. Certain collocations show apparent preservation of the effects of digamma, but these collocations derive from other factors entirely. Some are even to be taken as innovations, though distinguishing which apparent observances should count as legitimate archaisms is futile. It is not even enough to simply set such examples aside as ambiguous, since we would be left to undercount the number of innovative forms in archaic dress.

At position 5 we find, of course, the masculine caesura, one of the two most prominent line breaks in the hexameter. Both epics are generally observant of digamma here, about 12-15% neglect in each. Observance is possible at this position by making position and by hiatus after a long vowel. Neglect is only possible by elision: the first half of the foot must be heavy, and so neglect by failure to lengthen is impossible. In the *Odyssey*, all 15 of the neglects are distinct except the repeated line,

καί μιν φωνήσας' ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·

which occurs 7x in the *Odyssey*, 3x in the *Iliad* (though with a different opening sequence 1x before φωνήσας'). This neglect is a minimally modified form of the repeated line καί μιν φωνήσας ἔπεα πτ-, which occurs 17x in the

*Iliad*, and 20x in the *Odyssey*; in the masculine form, of course, we cannot detect an observance or a neglect for the masculine form because of the final closed, heavy syllable of φωνήσας.

We find a great deal of traditional phraseology at this position, particularly formulae for speaking. Coming after the first half of the third foot, it is hardly surprising that we find a relatively even distribution of observances by lengthening and hiatus. We should be most aware of the effects of the meter in creating a *brevis in longo* or preserving the long scansion of a vowel even before another vowel which was never w- initial. Returning to the example above, the half-line <sup>5</sup>| ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα # occurs no less than 55x in the *Iliad*, and 59x in the *Odyssey*. Some, many, perhaps even most of the examples may well be traditional collocations, but we can see the effects of the meter rather strikingly in the following sequence of lines in the *Odyssey*:

αἶψα δ' Ὀδυσσῆα ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα· (ω 494)

to which we can compare the similar:

αἶψα δὲ Τηλέμαχον ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα· (ψ 112)

For Ὀδυσσῆα at this position we can compare

αἶψα δ' Ὀδυσσῆα προσεφώνεεν ἐγγὺς ἐόντα· (Λ 346)

with very similar meaning, and double consonant making position. All examples of Ὀδυσσῆα occur before a double consonant or μεγάλητορα (with resonant lengthening) except ω 494 above. Can we count Ὀδυσσῆα ἔπεα as an observance of digamma, since there is every chance that the sequence results from the juxtaposition of long-standing phrases with no regard for the phonological reality of digamma? ἔπεα is not treated as vowel initial, but the syntactic connection between Ὀδυσσῆα and ἔπεα is weak. Such anomalies

underscore the disconnect between the retention of traditional language and the constant remodeling which the singers employed, often with the result of apparent archaism. The singer here paradoxically neglects digamma, even though he observes it.

At P 279 we find another anomaly, the proximate observance and neglect of digamma:

Αἶας, ὃς περὶ μὲν εἶδος, περὶ δ' ἔργα τέτυκτο (≈ Αἶανθ', ὃς περὶ etc. λ 550)

Here in both epics we apparently have an observance of digamma making position at the penthemimeral caesura immediately followed by a neglect before ἔργα. This line cannot have been composed before the loss of initial digamma, and the apparent observance is meaningless. The sequence περὶ μὲν must always scan ∪∪— with μὲν lengthened by position to avoid a tribrach. Though we do not have a direct example of this phrase in hiatus (unless here) we do find περὶ μὲν at this position numerous times (14 examples in Homer, 5 additional examples at other positions). The line is found in each of the two epics, and the close syntactic connection between the two half-lines makes it seem likely that the line was composed as a unit, after the loss of initial digamma. We see once again an apparent observance of digamma resulting from bardic technique rather than the effects of an initial consonant.

Before the frequent phrase ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα, the only neglect is the one mentioned above involving the feminine φωνήσας' with elision; otherwise the phrase occurs after a variety of names in the accusative and participles in the nominative masculine or feminine singular. We have already seen the effects of the heavy localization of the phrase in adapting new



formulae for this speaking formula; it is misguided to think that every one of these lines must be retentions of the tradition from a time when digamma was expressed rather than simply the effects of localization which are indistinguishable from “observance.” The bardic technique makes no distinction.

The *Odyssey* provides further interesting examples of the role of the meter and formulae in obfuscating the phonological situation at the time of composition. At ο 396 we find:

ἦ ῥα, καὶ Ἀντίνοον ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·

with apparent observance of digamma by position. Only 18 lines later (ο 414) we see a similar expression

στῇ δὲ παρ’ Ἀντίνοον καὶ μιν πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπε·

which does not depend on digamma at position 5. Antinoos plays a prominent role in the *Odyssey*, and the final syllable of his name must scan long to prevent a tribrach. It is not surprising, then, to find a clear example of *brevis in longo* at this position, this time in the nominative:

τοῖσιν δ’ Ἀντίνοος ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπε· (δ 773) <sup>235</sup>

Indeed, for many of the relatively frequent words localized before the masculine caesura we can find examples proving the effects of the architecture of the line:

to καὶ μιν λισσόμενος ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα· (3x Od.)

we can compare

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<sup>235</sup> cf. τοῖσιν δ’ Ἀντίνοος μετέφη, Εὐπείθεος υἱός· (υ 270)

Other examples include:

τὸν δ’ αὖτ’ Ἀντίνοος ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέειπε (ο 405)

τὸν δ’ αὖτ’ Ἀντίνοος ἀπαμείβετο φώνησέν τε· (ο 445)

cf. τὸν δ’ αὖτ’ Ἀντίνοος προσέφη, Εὐπείθεος υἱός· (φ 256)

τῷ τοι λισσομένῳ ἐπιπείσομαι, ἥδ' ἐκαὶ ἵππον (ψ 609).

In terms of the inner metric, we notice that a large number of words localized so as to end at the masculine caesura would become tribrach without lengthening by position or hiatus, including the frequent participles in – αμενος/-η and –ομενος/-η. On the other hand, we find several words which must be lengthened in order to avoid an antispastic shape, ∪ — — ∪, such as ἀπόβλητον in

οὐ τοι ἀπόβλητον ἔπος ἔσσεται ὅττι κεν εἴπω (B 361)<sup>236</sup>

and Ἀχαιοῖσιν in

στάς ἐν Ἀχαιοῖσιν ἔπεα πτερόεντ' ἀγόρευεν· (8 of 11 examples of Ἀχαιοῖσιν occur in this position).

Consequently, though this is ostensibly one of the most observant positions of digamma, we find that these “observances” are among the least convincing as evidence for the workings of initial w-. The effects of the meter are pronounced here, and a few examples from other line positions confirm that this position is not unique in this regard.

At position 3, similar in many regards to position 5, we find the nearly repeated line in the *Odyssey*,

ἀργύρεον· Ἑλένη δὲ παρίστατο καλλιπάρης (ο 123 ≈ ο 104), illustrating the unreliable nature of the evidence regarding digamma. A syntactic break isolates the opening word, enjambed from the preceding line, found in the accusative at this position four times before a consonant. Once again we must distinguish between an observance of digamma and a *brevis in longo* if this form is to count as a preservation of the tradition or simply an effect of localization. The opening sequences ἀργυρέη, ἐπὶ δὲ (+CC) (α 442)

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<sup>236</sup> cf. εἴμι μὲν, οὐδ' ἄλιον ἔπος ἔσσεται ὅττι κεν εἴπη. (Ω 92)

and ἀργυρέη, ἵνα μή τι (κ 24) show a related form at a syntactic break with the final vowel scanned long in hiatus. This evidence does not disprove the effects of digamma in the sequence above, but it certainly lessens the relevance of an etymological digamma in a word so placed. Such facts can be multiplied at many positions.

We also find a rather interesting metrical anomaly repeated several times in the *Iliad*, as well as in the *Odyssey*, with the forms of ἰάχῳ. The line opening σμερδαλέα ἰάχων is found 7x in the *Iliad*, 1x *Od.*, where even if we observe digamma, we are still left with a *brevis in longo*. The word σμερδαλέα and its related forms occur only in first position in Homer, Hesiod and the hymns, and with the scansion — ∪ ∪ — in 42 of 43 examples (the one exception scanning as a dactyl with elision). The only other example of σμερδαλέα itself before something other than ἰάχων occurs before κτυπέων at H 479, which Kirk takes as based on the more frequent sequences with ἰάχων,<sup>237</sup> though there is nothing beyond simple frequency of attestation to suggest any direction of influence. We should take note of the other *brevis in longo* examples involving digamma at this position: στάσκε μέγα ἰάχων (Σ 160), οἱ δὲ μέγα ἰάχοντες (Ξ 421), ἡ δὲ μέγα ἰάχουσα (Ε 343, κ 323), βῆ ῥα μέγα ἰάχων (Ρ 213), τῶν δέ θ' ὑπὸ ἰαχῆς (Ο 275). There is no historical, phonological justification for the scansion which makes position as though ἰάχ- had two initial consonants. μέγα scans as two shorts the vast majority of the time, obviously localized in the second half of the foot (especially as the word often triggers so-called resonant lengthening), but the repeated phrase #βριθὺ μέγα στιβαρόν occurs 5x in the *Iliad* and once in the *Odyssey* with the comparable scansion. Related forms which neglect

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<sup>237</sup> *Commentary ad loc.*

digamma and show a scansion with a long ι, e.g. *μεγάλ' ἰάχεν* (A 482, Σ 228, β 428, etc.), may provide the more likely source for the apparent license to lengthen at this position. For such a form we might propose instead an aorist form to give the sequence \**μεγάλα* (FF)*άχε*,<sup>238</sup> and based on similar sequences we could explain the license for lengthening as though by two consonants for this useful group of line openings. To count such a sequence as *σμερδαλέα ἰάχων*, or *— ∪ μέγα ἰάχων* as simple observance of digamma by hiatus disregards the layers of analogy which actually produced the sequence before it became traditional. There could be reason to suspect that the sequences are in fact old, since it is difficult to imagine the justification for the use of the plural *σμερδαλέα* with the final syllable artificially long when the singular in *—ov* could have sufficed perfectly well and legitimately made position before the loss of initial digamma in \**φιφαχων*. The reading we have is certainly the more difficult to justify phonologically.

The circumstances for positions 7 and 9 are similar, with rather frequent observance by lengthening, especially at position 9, where lengthening accounts for 75% and 50% of observance in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, respectively. At position 7, the effects of the meter combine with the fact that many word breaks here are line-segment internal (though certainly not all), coming soon after the principal caesurae of the line. It is not suprising that position 7 is one of the most apparently observant positions in the hexameter in both epics, though by now we must be suspicious that at least some of the apparent observances do not derive from preservation.

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<sup>238</sup> FFάχε < σφαάχε “should be regarded as an isolated aorist of the root \**swegh*, Goth. *swēgnjan* (“crackle”)” Hoekstra, *Modifications* p.53, n.4, with reference to Schulze’s *Kleine Schriften* 343f.; cf. Chantraine *GHI* 139f.

Finally, we must quickly examine the deployment of digamma at the trochaic caesurae within the second half of the foot. Most prominent among these is the line break at position 5.5. The evidence here is in accord with our impressions so far, though the data at this position signal a strong caveat not yet discussed. A digammated word which follows movable nu without creating position is technically a neglect, but such a sequence could easily have been part of the tradition without nu at the stage when digamma prevented hiatus. A trivially restored example of digamma such as this is effectively ambiguous, and so I have recorded the examples of these sequences but chosen to set them aside in my percentages of observances and neglects. This has been the practice of all counters of digamma to my knowledge. Having kept track of their number, however, I can report that at the trochaic caesura of the third foot and the fifth foot, secure neglects and even secure observances are each outnumbered by sequences of nu-movable followed by an an etymological w-. Digamma can be trivially restored in such sequences. This amounts to a huge margin of error for these positions, and reminds us that our counting can never be as reliable as we would like given the nature of the evidence. Given that these trivial neglects are effectively ambiguous, the true level of neglect for position 5.5 ranges anywhere from 17-62.1% in the *Iliad* and 17-51% in the *Odyssey*, depending on what percentage of these trivial neglects actually reflect old, traditional material which entered the tradition before the loss of digamma. The level of neglect is actually at some level within a range for every position, but nowhere is the range so large or the distinction so obvious as at the trochaic caesura.

We find the line

ὥτρυνεν δ' Ὀδυσῆα, ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζεν· (ζ 254)

in apparent observance of digamma before the frequent speaking formula half-line, but as we have seen before there are parallels which militate against accepting this collocation as simply the result of the phonological effects of initial digamma. We find the identical opening sequence in the line

ὄτρυνέων Ὀδυσῆα σὺν ἀντιθέῳ Μενελάῳ (ω 116).

Also, the accusative of Odysseus' name is heavily localized at this position, so much so that it actually shows examples of full blown hiatus where there never was an etymological w-:

θαύμαζεν δ' Ὀδυσῆα ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὀρῶσα (θ 459)

ἐκ τοῦ δ' οὔτ' Ὀδυσῆα ἐγὼν ἴδον οὔτ' ἐμὲ κεῖνος (α 212)

These examples hardly imply that we can find or expect to find hiatus at this position willy-nilly, but they do illustrate the fallacy of the blanket assumption that a hiatus at this position before a once w- initial word must be old in the tradition.

Digamma is securely neglected at position 5.5 in the line

ᾧρτο πολὺ πρῶτος μὲν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων (H 162)

To this we can compare

ἡγεμόνων: πρῶτος δὲ ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων (E 38).

The *prima facie* explanation suggests that the phrase which observes digamma was a part of the tradition from a time when w- was preserved, and only later did the poets adapt the phrase to new syntax using μέν. While this is certainly possible, we also find the very similar line

ἡγεμόνων. πρῶτος δὲ Μενoitίου ἄλκιμος υἱὸς (Π 307)

differing only in the noun-epithet complex used after πρῶτος δέ. The half-line name epithet complex for Agamemnon occurs 44x in the *Iliad* at this position, of which only two show a secure neglect of digamma, 20 show a secure hiatus,

and fully 22 examples employ nu movable (21x after a 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. verb, 1x after σφι(v)). This name-epithet complex has likely been a part of the epic tradition since before the loss of initial w-, but we cannot know which deployments predate or postdate the loss of w-. The notion hardly makes sense for such a sequence in an oral tradition, since every deployment in the text we actually have postdates the loss of initial digamma. Apparent observances often have some lexical and analogical justification, but the redeployment destroys the notion of simple decay over time. Of course ἄναξ is hardly the only word frequently found at this position, but it illustrates important points regarding the reliability of juxtaposed formulae. Neglects entered the tradition after the loss of initial w-, but the exigencies of performance have left us with apparent observances which may be better explained without appealing to digamma. When dealing with a word with an etymological digamma, the possibility always remains that an observance is a genuine preservation. This makes the paradox of archaism difficult to prove. However, a word without etymological w- which nonetheless behaves as though it were digammated would provide strong evidence that the paradox of archaism is indeed operative in the epics. Homer provides just such evidence with the word ἰδέ 'and.'

#### Section 6: ἰδέ and the Paradox of Archaism

The only epigraphic evidence for the conjunction ἰδέ is provided by Cyprian, where it can introduce the conclusion of a condition (ἰδέ παλ...) or a introduce new sentence (ἰδέ).<sup>239</sup> This lexical item is also, however, found in the dialect of the epos. Etymologically, the word is vowel-initial, merely the

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<sup>239</sup> Buck *GD* §134.6.

collocation of pronominal *i-* and deictic *-de*.<sup>240</sup> Given the form's extremely limited distribution outside of epic, ἰδέ is naturally cited as an "Achaean" form.<sup>241</sup> The distribution within the epics, however, shows a treatment of the form which is at odds with its historical phonology.

Though the form is etymologically vowel-initial, it is deployed in the epics frequently in hiatus with a preceding vowel and after *brevis in longo*. In this respect, the word versifies very much like words which once began with an initial digamma. We have seen that the deployment of words with etymological initial \**f* - sometimes reflects genuine preservation of the effects of a lost initial consonant, but elsewhere the metrical flaw before a once digammated word more likely reflects the needs of formulaic adjoinment (in a performance context.) The workings of the inner metric of the hexameter certainly influence the placement of words and phrases such that a sequence composed after the loss of digamma can still appear to show the effects of the lost consonant. We have already looked at some of the forms this can take, from simple repetition of phrases which observe digamma, to the exigencies of juxtaposed formulae. We have seen that through the stasis of line segments, certain positions may more freely admit genuine hiatus or *brevis in longo* without any historical justification. Furthermore, the evidence for the effects of digamma in Homer suggests that the presence of real preservations of traditional language (retaining the effects of digamma) provided models for new sequences after the loss of the sound in the Ionian singers' dialect, a

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<sup>240</sup> The *i-* is to be connected with the pronoun ἴν, ἰ-θα-γενής, Skt. *i-va* 'like', etc. cf. Chantraine *Dict. Etym. Lang. Grec.* ad loc.; Buck *GD* §134.6.

<sup>241</sup> Ruijgh (1957) pp. 55-7. Chantraine *GHI*, pp. 507-8. As always, purely lexical evidence is not strong indication of a contribution to epic language from a given dialect. The form could have been employed in several or even all dialects at an early date, having fallen out of use in all but Cyprian.



condition I have described as the paradox of archaism. While evidence from etymologically \*w- initial words is suggestive, the possibility always remains that even if a sequence with a once digammated word appears in a context which seems innovative, the segment suggesting the presence of digamma could be a preservation.

The conjunction ἰδέ, without etymological \*w-, provides strong evidence that the paradox of archaism is indeed a real and operative force in the development of the epic language. In Homer, the form occurs 23 times in the *Iliad*, 7 in the *Odyssey*. Of these, the form appears in hiatus or after *brevis in longo* 16 times. Thus, the form ἰδέ is versified as though consonant initial in almost 70% of its occurrences. Moreover, of the instances where there is no hiatus or *brevis in longo*, only 4 do not follow a movable nu. We would have to consider these forms as ambiguous if ἰδέ began with an initial digamma since the hiatus could be trivially restored. Setting aside these "ambiguous" sequences, the conjunction ἰδέ versifies as though digamma initial in 75% of its appearances in Homer. Chantraine remarks that the form appears frequently in hiatus due to the juxtaposition of formulae,<sup>242</sup> but this only partially describes the situation for ἰδέ.

The occurrences are mostly distinct from one another: 13 of the 16 lines showing "observance"<sup>243</sup> are unique. The form is nearly always found after the trochaic caesura scanned as an iamb (all but three examples) before either two consonants or a resonant. The trochaic caesura is indeed a frequent juncture point for linking up formulae, and a conjunction which means "and" with a

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<sup>242</sup> Chantraine *Dict. Etym. Lang. Grec.* ad loc.

<sup>243</sup> Recognizing, of course, that "observance" and "neglect" are misnomers for ἰδέ, it is convenient as a shorthand to speak of the form as though it were etymologically \*w- initial given its distribution in the epics.

metrical shape different from τε or καί would seem a very useful addition to the poet's repertoire. Certain examples certainly appear to be mere instances of hiatus at a caesura. To an "observance" in the *Iliad*,

Ἀργείοισι γένοιτο ἰδὲ κλέος ἐσθλὸν ἄροιτο· (E 3)

we can compare θ 339:

αἶ γὰρ τοῦτο γένοιτο, ἄναξ ἑκατηβόλ' Ἀπολλων. (with digamma)

and ρ 355:

καί οἱ πάντα γένοιτο, ὅσα φρεσὶν ἦσι μενοινᾶ. (with no digamma).

That is, hiatus can hardly be proof positive of the presence of a digamma, especially with a syntax break at this point in the line. The conjunction ἰδέ, however, most often occurs together with τε, a total of 10 times- half of all secure examples. The examples are:

εὐφυέες κνήμαί τε ἰδὲ σφυρὰ κάλ' ὑπένερχε Δ 147

ἐσβάντες κνήμας τε ἰδὲ λόφον ἀμφί τε μηρούς. K 573

ταρβήσας χαλκὸν τε ἰδὲ λόφον ἵππιοχαίτην, Z 469

ἔδρη τε κρέασίν τε ἰδὲ πλείοις δεπάεσσιν : Θ 162 = M 311

καίετο δὲ λωτός τε ἰδὲ θρύον ἠδὲ κύπειρον Φ 351

ἄμπυκα κεκρύφαλόν τε ἰδὲ πλεκτὴν ἀναδέσμην X 469

εἶδος τε μέγεθος τε ἰδὲ φρένας ἔνδον εἶσας; λ 337 = σ 249

τόφρα δ' ἄρ' Εὐρυνόμη τε ἰδὲ τροφὸς ἔντυον εὐνήν ψ 289

The close syntactic connection in τε ἰδέ argues against calling this a "juxtaposition of formulae." Rather, the collocation acts like a frozen metrical alternative to τε, καί, and τε καί, as well as the closely related ἠδέ, which occurs alone as well as in sequences of τ' ἠδέ, and ἠδὲ καί. Elided τ' ἰδέ which could provide still another alternative as either a pyrrhic or an iamb before

two consonants does not occur. The poets chose to allow ἰδέ with hiatus at this position repeatedly because of its utility.

Given that this form is considered an "Achaeanism," this versification is surprising indeed. Cyprian retained *ϕ* in all positions until well beyond the fixation of the Homeric poems. A Cyprian poet would be unlikely to versify ἰδέ contrary to its phonology in creating a formula. This is especially true if one believes in an "Achaean" phase of epic, since the effects of digamma at an early stage would be more than mere preservation of metrical anomalies. Even under the more likely model of continued shared material among many dialects, Cyprian bards could presumably be expected to treat the word as vowel initial.

Far more likely is that the poets in the Ionic tradition knew of the word through contact with another, perhaps Cyprian tradition at some point in the development of the epics.<sup>244</sup> The form was preserved *correctly* versified as vowel initial in a few places, but the poets noticed that certain words which were vowel initial in spoken Ionic occurred in epic frequently versified with hiatus or *brevis in longo*. In this case in particular, one of those words was ἰδε, and a host of related forms which did possess an etymological initial \*w-. We find a line beginning τοὺς δὲ ἰδε Σθένηςλος (E 241) which, though not at the trochaic caesura, shows the other ἰδε scanned as an iamb before two consonants after hiatus. The exact model for the development of the poets' policy of allowing hiatus for the vowel initial ἰδέ is less important than the fact that the poets did make the analogy resulting in the regular scansion for ἰδέ with hiatus (3/4 of examples). Importantly, the analogy only works *after* the

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<sup>244</sup> Alternatively, Ionic could have once had the form itself, though there is no evidence to suggest this.

loss of initial digamma. There had to be examples of once digammated words showing both "observance" and "neglect" of digamma present in the tradition for the poets to perceive the option of a scanning a word as consonant initial which, where actually inherited, only scanned as vowel initial. The development of the "license" for hiatus and *brevi in longo* for ἰδέ could only have developed *after* the loss of initial digamma. I maintain that this process obtained for genuinely once digammated words as well, but for any given example, we cannot be sure an "observance" of digamma is not a real preservation, however unlikely the given example. Because of the etymology of ἰδέ, however, we can securely dismiss the possibility of preservation.

Two final pairs of examples will strengthen the claim. The first shows a vowel-initial scansion of ἰδέ contrasted with a similar line employing ἦδέ:

μεσσηγὺς Σιμόεντος ἰδὲ Ξάνθοιο ῥοάων. (Z 4)

τόσσα μεσηγὺ νεῶν ἦδὲ Ξάνθοιο ῥοάων (Θ 560)

The latter shows the genitive plural for "ship" with shortening by the rule closely related to quantitative metathesis, a somewhat late Ionic feature. The former recounts a piece of Trojan geography in what could easily be a traditional, inherited collocation with historically accurate phonology, though the phrase is repeated nowhere else. That is, this represents the "old" deployment of ἰδέ. The last pair of examples involve the rare appearance of ἰδέ not at the trochaic caesura:

τῷ ῥ' ἢ γε χροά καλὸν ἀλειψαμένη ἰδὲ χαίτας (Ξ 175)

σταθμούς τε κλισίας τε κατηρεφέας ἰδὲ σηκούς (Σ 589)

This pair of examples differs from the rest both in line placement, in the second half of the fifth foot, and in metrical shape, two shorts instead of an iamb. Given their line placement and scansion, the conjunction could be replaced with καί, with only the preference for dactyls in the fifth foot militating against the use of the monosyllable. The force of this preference is considerable, as καί does not occur here before a consonant, only as a short syllable before a vowel at position 9.5. These collocations are innovative and unique. *Brevis in longo* is not uncommon at this position, nor is hiatus, but the conjunction ἰδέ is itself rare in the epics compared to the other conjunctions. Its use here showing the effects of a perceived digamma, or perhaps a sort of license or policy in the mind of the poet, would be mistaken for an archaism if ἰδέ were etymologically w- initial. Here, however, it displays instead the paradox of archaism. These forms show innovative metrical deployment to be dated after the loss of initial digamma, which ironically produces the appearance of the preservation of digamma. This phenomenon operates on truly digammated words, but the effects are never so clear as here.

## APPENDIX

### I. The counting of digamma

Since the discovery of the effects of digamma by Bentley, practically every serious student of the language of Homer has given some thought to its effects in the epics. Literally thousands of metrical flaws seemed to be explained by the preserved force of the digamma, though as shown in Part III above, preservation is not always the story. Numerous scholars have attempted to count the observance and neglect of digamma to assess more accurately its presence in epics and chart the course of the sound's development within poems or passages. Somewhat remarkably, rarely have two scholars ever agreed on precisely how many observances and neglects are to be found in the epics. As with so many features of epic language, what you find is all in what you count. I have assembled a count of the workings of the digamma in Homer and Hesiod, and in doing so, I have had to make a great number of choices regarding what evidence is salient for analysis of the feature. Since these choices affect the outcome of the count, I provide here a detailed explanation of my method of counting and the complete list of words which I have considered etymologically \*w- initial for the count. I have endeavored to make my method as transparent as possible, and hopefully useful to other scholars.

Rather than search line by line through the epics for possibly digammated words, I instead started with words which are of relatively secure etymology. I then found all occurrences of each word in the *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, and Hesiod using the TLG, and cross-referenced the results with the

editions of Van Thiel and West where there was reason to suspect textual ambiguity. I did include some words which etymologically derived from \*hw-, but I excluded the enclitic pronouns οί, ἐ, etc., both because the enclitic nature of these words means that their digamma internal rather than initial and because these tiny words are so often mired in textual problems as to make counting them fruitless.

I made no record of those digammated words which appeared at the beginning of a line or after a heavy closed syllable, as these provide no information regarding the effects of digamma. I did, however, record examples of digammated words before movable nu, for example:

τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων (Ξ 64).

I recorded such occurrences as neglects, but they can be trivially restored to observe digamma. I noted in my counting which examples can be trivially restored, making it possible to filter these examples out easily, and except where otherwise noted, I have set these examples aside in establishing my own statistics. I treated examples of elided γε, epic τε, and ῥα in the same way. Examples after οὐκ and οὐχ are likewise collected but again marked as ambiguous. We ultimately have no way of knowing how hiatus was treated in performance. Comparanda from the South Slavic epics indicate that singers in that tradition employed a wide variety of non-phonemic consonants to break up hiatus, and these sounds, while evident on the audio recordings of South Slavic performances, are not indicated in the transcriptions of the songs made at the same time. The sounds were not part of standard orthography of the language, and thus were lost in the texts. We lack audio recordings of early Greek epic performances, obviously, but our texts do record these few hiatus breakers which were part of standard orthography. We can only

speculate as the changing roles of these hiatus breakers as digamma sank into obsolescence. There is no evidence for /w-/ itself being used as a hiatus breaker.

I count examples of  $\epsilon\ddot{u}/\epsilon\tilde{u}$  before digammated words as observances. This might seem controversial since final upsilon is never elided in the epics, and thus the appearance of  $\epsilon\ddot{u}/\epsilon\tilde{u}$  before a vowel would be ambiguous. The vast majority of examples of  $\epsilon\ddot{u}/\epsilon\tilde{u}$  before a vowel is in the phrase  $\epsilon\ddot{u}$  εἰδώς (and its declined forms) at various line positions, especially at line end. These collocations are repeated over thirty times in Homer and are likely traditional. As such, it is more likely than not that these phrases, or at least some of them, entered the tradition while initial *w-* still had consonantal force, and so some of the examples are preservations. It is certainly true that  $\epsilon\ddot{u}/\epsilon\tilde{u}$  occurs a small handful of times before a vowel in hiatus with no etymological digamma, including the repeated phrase  $\epsilon\tilde{u}$  ἀρῶμαι/ἀρῶας (4x). The occurrence of these forms with clear hiatus raises suspicion that the many examples of  $\epsilon\ddot{u}$  εἰδώς and its related forms do not really provide evidence for the working of digamma, but the same argument obtains for a great many phrases in the epics showing digamma for which related lines can be compared which show real hiatus. As always, we ultimately cannot disambiguate forms which are genuine preservations from later redeployments, but in the aggregate, the evidence points to the working of digamma in phrases with  $\epsilon\ddot{u}/\epsilon\tilde{u}$ , and so I have included them. In any event, it cannot be said that the digamma is neglected in these sequences.

In collecting the data, I recorded whether digamma was observed or neglected and whether observance/neglect is by hiatus/elision or lengthening/failure to lengthen. I count as an observance by hiatus the



presence in the text of a final short vowel followed by a vowel initial word with etymological digamma. I also count a final long vowel scanned as a heavy syllable before a digammated word, that is, without correption. In assessing digamma observed by lengthening, I have counted any *brevis in longo* before a digammated word as an observance. For example,

αἶψα δὲ Τηλέμαχον ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα· (ψ 112)

shows a *brevis in longo* in the first half of the third foot that could easily be ascribed to the lengthening by position from final nu plus digamma. For my count, I have also included anomalous examples such as the related line

αἶψα δ' Ὀδυσσῆα ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα· (ω 494)

despite the fact that a single digamma cannot have truly made position. While such an example is obviously owed to the exigencies of the meter, as demonstrated in Part III above, rather than historical phonology, digamma is at any rate not neglected in such examples. These are not very frequent and are discussed in Part III above.

The full list of lexical items used in this counting and analysis follows:

ἄγνυμι	Ἄστυόχεια	εἰλέω
ἄναξ	Ἄστυόχη	εἵλυμα
ἄνασσα	Ἄστυπυλος	εἵλυμαι
ἀνάσσω	εἶδωλον	εἰλυφάζω
ἀνδάνω	εἶδον	εἰλυφάω
ἄρῃν	εἶδος	εἶπον
ἄστυ	εἴκοσι	εἴριον
ἄστυδε	εἰκοσινήριτος	εἰροπόκος
Ἀστύνοος	εἶλαρ	εἶρος

εἶρω	ἐρύκω	ισοφαρίζω
Ἑκάβη	ἔρυμαι	ισοφόρος
ἐκάεργος	ἔρύω	Ἰστίαια
ἐκάς	ἐσπέρπιος	Ἰφιάνασσα
ἐκαστάτω	ἔσπερος	Ἰφιδάμας
ἐκαστέρω	ἔτος	Ἰφικληεῖη
ἔκαστος	ἥδος	Ἰφικλος
ἐκάτερθε	ἡδύς	Ἰφιμέδεια
ἐκατηβελέτης	ἡχήεις	ἰφιος
ἐκατηβόλος	ἱαχή	Ἰφιτίων
ἔκατος	ἱάχω	Ἰφιτος
Ἑλένη	ἴδιος	οἶδα
Ἑλενος	ἰδρεῖη	οἶκαδε
Ἑλίκη	ἰδρώω	οἰκεύς
Ἑλικώνιος	ἰδρώς	οἰκέω
ἐλικῶπις	Ἰλιόθεν	οἰκίον
ἐλίκωψ	Ἰλιόθι	οἶκοθε
ἔλιξ	Ἰλιονεύς	οἶκοθι
ἔλωρ	Ἰλιος	οἰκόνδε
ἐλώριον	Ἰλος	οἶκος
ἔπος	ἰρηξ	οἰκωφελίη
ἐργάζομαι	Ἰρις	Οἶνεὺς
ἔργον	ἶς	οἰνίζω
ἔρση	ἰσόθεος	οἰνοβαρείων
ἐρσήεις	ἰσόμορος	Οἰνόμαος
ἐρυκανάω	ἶσος	οἰνοπληθής

οινοποτάζω

οινοποτήρ

οινοχοεύω

οινοχοέω

οἶνος

οινοχόος

οἶνοψ

ὄψ

I count the analogical form ἐπέεσσι in the usual way, except for sequences of the dative plural –οις ἐπέεσσι, which are excluded. After a closed heavy syllable, we cannot recover the workings of digamma, but these sequences are doubly ambiguous: a line end such as αἰσχροῖς ἐπέεσσιν·(Γ 38) could represent αἰσχροῖς' ἐπέεσσιν with neglect of digamma or αἰσχροῖσι(ν) ἔπεσσιν, which could either observe or neglect digamma with nu-movable. There are other neglects of digamma which are secure, despite the possibility of positing ἔπεσσιν for ἐπέεσσιν, for example ἐπιστώσαντ' ἐπέεσσι. (Φ 286). In order to make such a sequence observe digamma, we could posit a reading ἐπιστώσαντο ἔπεσσιν, but there is no textual support for such a move. Indeed, the innovative, analogical form ἐπέεσσι is by far the most common form of the dative plural for this word. It shows both observance and neglect of digamma, and as such it is counted just like any other word in the epics.

Thanks to the sample size of the epics, this list of words provides good insight into the workings of initial digamma and its level of deployment. The details of that deployment ultimately prove that the apparent effects of digamma provide no accurate metric for chronology, but these details provide valuable insight into the language of the epic poets.

## II. Hesiod's Digamma

Beyond Homer, the works attributed to Hesiod provide us our next largest sample of early hexameter poetry. The deployment of digamma by the poet of the *Theogony* and the *Works and Days* has been well studied, and all commentators wrestle with the conundrum that Hesiod shows a higher rate of neglect of digamma than does Homer despite the fact that the poet identifies

himself as a Boeotian. Inscriptional evidence indicates that Boeotian retained initial w- down to the third century B.C.<sup>245</sup>, and presumably an early poet would thus have retained initial vau in his vernacular.<sup>246</sup> By all accounts, including my own, Hesiod shows a higher proportion of neglects of digamma than does either of the Homeric epics.<sup>247</sup> Meister postulates that the Boeotian poets suppressed the native initial w-, because the Homeridae neither said nor wrote it. To this formulation we should add the caveat that the Ionian performance tradition to which the songs of Hesiod are indebted is not the same thing as the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* as we know them; the “Homeriden” of whom Meister writes should be understood simply as rhapsodes in the epic Ionic hexameter singing tradition, not necessarily after the one(s) responsible for the fixation/textualization of the Homeric epics (and thus perhaps only “Homeridae” in a proleptic sense). West, as always, paints a quite vivid, if speculative, picture of the young poet reared in Ascra by an Aeolian immigrant from Cyme:

It might be expected that someone born in such circumstances would spend his boyhood playing round the village, herding animals and generally helping on the farm, and frequently walking the five or six kilometres down to Thespieae. All this may have been so, but by the time of the composition of the *Theogony* he had evidently done more than that. He had listened to poetry in the Ionian hexameter style in such quantity and with such attention that he had become able to compose it himself. He had absorbed a considerable number of traditions concerning gods both famous and obscure: traditions with

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<sup>245</sup> Buck, *GD* pp.46-9, 152.

<sup>246</sup> cf. Edwards 135f.; West *HT* 91, 99f.; Meister 199-201.

<sup>247</sup> Individual books in the epics are a different story; passages within the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are famously not homogeneous with regard to archaic features. Also, the disparate corpus size of Homer versus everything else results in a greater weight given to each observance or neglect in the shorter poems as compared to those in the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*.

local associations not particularly in his own area but in various parts of Greece, Delphi, Sicyon, Thessaly, Crete. Perhaps there was sufficient rhapsodic activity in Thespieae to account for it; perhaps there was already a regular celebration near Ascra of Mouseia which attracted competing poets;... He himself tells us that it was on Helicon, while he was tending sheep, that he turned into a poet.<sup>248</sup>

This account, though speculative, does speak to the relationship of the poets' vernacular and his poetic speech. For reasons which will remain opaque, the dialect of the hexameter tradition was essentially Ionic, though not exclusively so. Homer, of course, admits a not insignificant admixture of Aeolic forms, as does Hesiod, and both employ epic forms unique to the *Kunstsprache* itself. The unequivocal neglects of digamma in Homer and Hesiod indicate that the sound was not pronounced in performance, but retained only in the various metrical defects resulting from its loss, such as hiatus and apparent *brevis in longo*. Bards from different speech communities could be expected to have strikingly different orientations to these metrical defects. To a Boeotian, whose vernacular speech retained initial w-, the *neglect* of the sound would be marked as foreign, or even [+epic], as specific to the Ionian singing tradition in which he was participating. To an Ionian singer whose dialect lacked the sound, the situation would be reversed: neglects would follow the vernacular pattern, and the effects retained from the loss of initial digamma would be marked as [+epic]. Neglects of digamma entered the tradition from the vernacular of Ionic singers, and certainly not from Boeotian.

For a statistical distribution of early and late features, in this case the retention of initial digamma, to correlate with chronology, we need each of the poems themselves to reflect a sort of "snapshot" of that tradition and its

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<sup>248</sup> West, *HW&D*, p. 31.

development as a whole.<sup>249</sup> A singer in this tradition who was himself not a native Ionic speaker could, at least for some features, provide a *more* reliable portrait of that tradition than a native Ionian bard; a Boetian, say, has no impetus to introduce a neglect of digamma into his verse unless he has heard another singer employ such a neglect, in which case the neglects in Hesiod should reflect the state of epic Ionic verse at the time of its composition. Alternatively, for a singer with the orientation toward the treatment of initial *w*- described above, the higher frequency in neglecting digamma has invited speculation about “suppression” of the sound, in effect hyper-Ionicizing.<sup>250</sup> Of course if this is the case, then our samples of epic diction are not representative of the state of the tradition’s development. Edwards comments on this situation with the caveat that “a mere count of the places where the poet observes or neglects initial *F* can achieve little unless each instance is examined in its context for traces of possible influence by the tradition, or alternatively for signs of Hesiodic innovation.”<sup>251</sup> Edwards provides some of the relevant facts which I will summarize here.

Edwards makes the claim that many of the neglects of digamma in the *Theogony* and *Works and Days* are “found in a context which may be regarded as peculiarly Hesiodic.”<sup>252</sup> Examples include neglects found

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<sup>249</sup> For problems regarding the proposed unity of the Ionic hexameter tradition see pp. 39ff.

<sup>250</sup> West addresses the issue, (1966) p. 91, by asserting that Hesiod “neglected the digamma... in conscious imitation of the traditional poetic language; while the Ionian rhapsode did the opposite for the same reason.” West is somewhat vague about whether Hesiod should be thought to be imitating the forms current in the tradition or merely the practice of neglecting digamma in hexameter singing.

<sup>251</sup> Edwards (1971) p. 38-9.

<sup>252</sup> Edwards (1971) p. 133-4. Here, Edwards also notes that “where Hesiod ‘observes’ an initial *F*, the phrase often appears, from comparison with the Homeric evidence, to be traditional.” In making these assessments, we must be on guard against equating “Homeric” with traditional, and conversely against assuming that material which is from our perspective “peculiarly

alongside “indirect names,” e.g. γλαυκὴν δυσπέμφελον ἐργάζονται *Th.* 440, where γλαυκή stands for πόντος ‘the sea’;<sup>253</sup> or τρίποδι βροτοὶ ἴσοι *WD* 533. Hesiod neglects digamma in association with the absence of the 3<sup>rd</sup> compensatory lengthening: καλὸν εἶδος *WD* 63; δυωδεκάμηνον ἴσον *WD* 752.<sup>254</sup> Less instructive are the neglects Edwards collects in association with un-Homeric vocabulary: e.g. ἴν’ Ἑσπερίδες (*Th.* 275), ξυνήονας ἔργων (*Th.* 595, 601), βίβλινος οἶνος (*WD* 589), ποτ’ οἶνοχόην (*WD* 744). Only slightly more revealing are neglects found in association with Homeric vocabulary used in an un-Homeric sense. Examples include Ἴμερος personified (*Th.* 64) and ἦθος meaning “behaviour” rather than ‘accustomed haunts’ as in Homer, e.g. ἐπὶ κλοπὸν ἦθος (*WD* 67, 78). Finally, we find neglects of digamma in association with unaccustomed word order: ἐπὶ δ’ αἶθοπα πινέμεν οἶνον (*WD* 592) beside αἶθοπα οἶνον *WD* 724 (8x *Il.*, 8x *Od.*).<sup>255</sup> This sort of modification was common in bardic practice; we cannot assume that Hesiod was responsible for the rearrangement of the traditional phrase rather than one of his Ionian predecessors or contemporaries.

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Hesiodic,” which by necessity often denotes “not in Homer,” was not itself traditional in the greater body of epic verse lost to us. In the case of Hesiod, we may note that there may have been a rich tradition of didactic hexameter verse from which Hesiod drew his material, or the poet may have personally pressed the tradition into a new form. We are in a very poor position to make decisive statements regarding these generic concerns.

<sup>253</sup> The phrase itself is unparalleled, and *kennigar* are a more common feature of Hesiod’s poetry than Homer’s, but Homer uses ὕγρη in a similar fashion (West (1966) p. 287). The use of “indirect names” is, thus, not exclusively Hesiodic, though perhaps more prominent there.

<sup>254</sup> Edwards notes that “Troxler is inclined to ascribe the Hesiodic forms to Attic influence, but West is surely right to cast the net wider: (*HT* 82); comparable forms with short vowel, from μονF-, ξενF-, etc. occur in Homer (Chantraine, *GHI*, 161f.), and there are many examples of them in Sappho and Alcaeus including both καλός (frequently) and ἴσος.” p. 109

<sup>255</sup> cf. Hoekstra (1969a) p.27. The preceding list of “un-Hesiodic” features is drawn from Edwards pp. 133-5.



As we saw with Homer, the distribution of observances and neglects is not uniform throughout Hesiod's hexameter. In tabular form, the % neglect (clearly meaningless at some positions):

Table 13: Percent neglect of digamma in Hesiod

	Theogony				Works & Days		
	Observance	Neglect	% Neg		Observance	Neglect	% Neg
Pos 1	0	5	100		1	6	85.7
Pos 1.5	1	0	0		3	0	0
Pos 2	2	2	50		5	5	50
Pos 3	4	2	33.3		5	4	44.4
Pos 3.5	3	2	40		4	2	33.3
Pos 4	3	0	0		3	2	40
Pos 5	2	1	33.3		11	1	8.3
Pos 5.5	6	2	25		2	3	60
Pos 6	0	9	100		5	8	61.5
Pos 7	0	1	100		4	0	0
Pos 8	14	7	33.3		15	5	25
Pos 9	2	0	0		2	0	0
Pos 9.5	10	4	28.6		5	3	37.5
Pos 10	11	4	26.7		20	10	33.3

The prohibition against creating spondees by position with digamma<sup>256</sup> operates without exception in Hesiod; all observances of digamma after even numbered positions are by hiatus. At all positions hiatus predominates, though the *Works and Days* shows more lengthening than does the *Theogony*. For example, the *Theogony* shows four observances of digamma at position 3, all by hiatus after a long vowel (and all after a single word stretching from line beginning to position 3); the *Works and Days*, on the other hand, shows five

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<sup>256</sup> See above, pp. 107ff.

observance, only one of which is by hiatus. The other four involve lengthening. Twice we find the sequence τὸν or τὴν φθάμενος followed by an apparent observance of digamma by position. However, as we saw for Homer, such sequences, coming at prominent line junctures, are not reliably diagnostic of the effect of digamma at the time a sequence entered the tradition. Position 5 has a similar distribution. The *Works and Days* shows an interesting line which casts into vivid relief the perils of making clear-cut assertions regarding the effects of digamma. At *WD* 453-4 we find

ῥήϊδιον γὰρ ἔπος εἶπεῖν· βόε δὸς καὶ ἄμαξαν·  
ῥήϊδιον δ' ἀπανήνασθαι· πάρα δ' ἔργα βόεσσιν.

which shows a neglect of digamma by failure to lengthen followed immediately by an apparent observance by lengthening. While it is possible that the close syntax of the phrase ἔπος εἶπεῖν caused the digamma to remain as essentially internal to the phrase as a unit, the observance also takes place at position 5 where *brevis in longo* is not infrequent in Homer. The neglects in the two lines, closely parallel to one another, point unequivocally to composition after the loss of digamma in the Ionic tradition, perhaps the tradition of wisdom literature to judge from the content. Given such circumstances, the apparent observance, coming at position 5, is unconvincing. From the table above we can observe that the *Works and Days* is at its most observant at position 5, though this owes much to the strong caesura in the line and the paradox of archaism.

As we saw in Homer, the end of the verse tends to preserve more formulaic material, and positions 8 through 10 all show a low level of neglect; also these positions at the end of the verse contain a disproportionate number

of the total examples. About half of all the examples for each of the poems occur at just positions 8, 9.5, and 10. Position 10 of course shows perhaps the strongest tendency against creation of spondees, i.e. in the fifth foot, and the *Works and Days* in particular witnesses numerous observance at this position, many of which look quite traditional. There are, however, numerous neglects as well, many through modification of traditional types such as  $\pi\iota\nu\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\nu\ \omicron\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\nu$  described above.

The problems of establishing chronology from this mixed bag of evidence are daunting, and ultimately, as Edwards notes, “one must agree with West that the relative proportions of these ‘early’ and ‘late’ linguistic features in Hesiod and Homer cannot be used as an index of the relative dates of the poems’ composition.”<sup>257</sup> The problem of archaisms in the epic is two-fold: 1) preservations are not diagnostic of change, nor do they provide a statistical baseline against which to test the proportion of innovations; and 2) due to the special nature of the bardic technique, preservations are at times indistinguishable from later phraseology which mimics the appearance of archaism due to the effects of the inner metric.

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<sup>257</sup> Edwards (1971) p. 38.

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